University of Alberta

COSSACK MOTIFS IN UKRAINIAN FOLK LEGENDS

By

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requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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To my grandparents, parents,
Wife and daughter

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the portrayal of Ukrainian Cossacks in 19th century Ukrainian folk legends. It also establishes various factors, which influenced the Cossack motifs, and follows selected motifs in their transition from folk legends to 19th century Ukrainian literature, exploring the contribution of the legends to the formation of the Cossack image (images).

The main objectives of this study include assembling a corpus of legends about the Cossacks, identifying and analyzing the tale types and motifs in these texts, examining various factors which influenced the texts, comparing the portrayal of Ukrainian Cossacks in folk legends and other genres of Ukrainian folklore, analyzing the contribution of folk legend motifs in the formation of an image (images) of "a Cossack," and exploring how the depiction of Cossacks in folk legends influenced literature in the 19th century Ukraine.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the portrayal of Ukrainian Cossacks in 19th century Ukrainian folk legends. I investigate various sources for the motifs used in the legends. Furthermore, I follow selected motifs in their transition from folk legends to 19th century Ukrainian literature, exploring the contribution of the legends to the formation of the Cossack image (images).

The liquidation of the old Cossack order in Ukraine in the late 1700s can be considered the watershed moment between the "Cossack" period in Ukrainian history and the time when Ukraine became fully integrated into the Russian Empire. These events had strong implications for the political, economic, social and cultural life of the Ukrainian people.[1] The demise of the Cossack order resulted in a crisis which affected all strata of Ukrainian society, including the Cossacks and peasants.

In the late 18th century and thereafter, many Ukrainian intellectuals faced the issue of ambivalent personal identification which revolved around the assimilatory policies of the Russian government and the lingering Cossack tradition. This Cossack tradition was virtually deprived of its political component, though it offered a historical legacy and a rich cultural heritage. The process of building Ukrainian national identity in the 19th century was initiated by intellectuals— Ukrainians either by birth or by spirit. Historical and cultural consciousness was focused on the Kyivan Rus' state and the "Cossack era."

Anthony D. Smith, Benedict Anderson, Andrew Wilson and others emphasize the importance of historical legacy and cultural tradition in the process of construction of national identity.[2] People in European societies during the early-modern times most likely shared a sense of common ancestry, shared memories and common cultural traits, though perhaps not yet a sense of bounded historic territories, public culture, legal membership and economic unity.[3] Historical legacy and cultural tradition played an important role in the construction of European peoples' identity.

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[1] By the "political death of Cossack Ukraine" I mean the abolishing of the Cossack state, — the *Hetmanate* (or *Het'manshchyna*), — in 1764 and the liquidation of the Cossack stronghold *Sich* (*Zaporoz'ka Sich*) in 1775 by the Russian government as well as policies aimed at making Ukraine equal to the other provinces of Russian Empire. The abolition of the Cossack institutions derived from the logic of political unification within the Empire. The next step was administrative reform, which partitioned the former Cossack lands among the administrative bodies— governorship (*gubernia*) and county (*uezd*). Among the social and economic changes were the introduction of elements of serfdom among the people of the former Cossack lands, revocation of ancient liberties (completed by the 1840s), economic expansion of Russian nobility, whose members received the former land possessions of Ukrainian Cossacks, and cooption of some of the Cossack officers and ordinary Cossacks into the Imperial governing and administrative bodies (civil and military administration, nobility, army, etc.) The old Cossack ways were condemned as "barbaric" and "obsolete" in accordance to the triumphant ideology of imperial enlightened absolutism.

[2] See Lesley Johnson "Imagining Communities: Medieval or Modern," *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Allan V. Murray, Leeds Texts and Monographs (New Series 14, 1995), pp. 3-5. Also see Andrew Wilson, "Myths of National History in Belarus and Ukraine," *Myths and Nationhood*, eds. Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 182-197.

Construction of a new modern Ukrainian identity coincided with a similar process in other European cultures, associated with Romanticism. This movement promoted a greater interest in vernacular (folk) tradition of a given nation as opposed to the "higher," "learned" and largely "alien" tradition of the dominant political power: for instance, a Czech folk culture as opposed to the culture of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and a Ukrainian folk culture as opposed to the culture of the Russian Empire. "...[T]he core of the Romantic vision of the Ukraine is thus the focus on its historical past and its unique folkloristic-ethnographic character. These two moments are often closely interrelated: the historical past of the Ukraine, for example, is frequently projected through or illustrated by the *dumy*, by historical songs, by legends, customs or beliefs."[4]

Interest in Ukrainian folklore among the educated circles of Ukrainian, Polish and Russian societies involved introducing the lore of the people to a larger audience, thus preserving a rich cultural heritage for future generations. Within this heritage, particular attention was paid to the Cossack past.

In 1819, Prince Nikolai Tsertelev published his first collection of Ukrainian folk songs and epic recitations (*dumy*), the majority of which dealt with Cossack themes (*dumy* "The Escape of Three Brothers from Azov," "Oleksii Popovych," "Khmelnytsky and Barabash" and others).[5] To Tsertelev, folk songs and *dumy* represented the poetic genius of the people and the expression of national spirit.[6]

Similar views were shared by many folklorists of that time, who produced a number of original publications of Ukrainian folk poetry. In 1827, 1834 and 1849, Mykhailo Maksymovych published three editions of *Ukrains'ki narodni pisni* [Ukrainian folk songs]. The second edition of Maksymovych's work contained some 2,500 songs, many of which were

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[3] "Imagining Communities: Medieval or Modern," pp. 3-5.

[4] George Grabowicz, "The History and Myth of the Cossack Ukraine in Polish and Russian Romantic Literature" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1975), p. 5. According to Grabowicz, "the Cossack period of Ukrainian history is perceived by Polish and Russian" — and I would also add "Ukrainian" — "writers as a continuous epoch, lasting from the end of the 16th century to its culmination in the great peasant uprising of the *Kolijivščyna* of 1768, and the subsequent abolishing of the Zaporožian Sič in 1775." (Grabowicz, p. 6).

[5] Nikolai Tsertelev, *Opyt sobraniia starinnykh malorossiiskikh pesnei* [A collection of ancient Ukrainian songs)] (St. - Petersburg: V Tip. Karla Kraia, 1819). Also see Filiaret Kolessa, *Istoriia ukrains'koi etnohrafii* [The history of Ukrainian ethnography, 1940s (?)] TMs [photocopy], pp. 44-45, Bohdan Medwidsky Folklore Archive: 2002.061, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

[6] Tsertelev, pp. 2-16; Aleksandr Pypin, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii* [The history of Russian ethnography], vol. 3 (St.- Petersburg, 1891), pp. 11-15.

Cossack songs and *dumy*.[7] According to Russian literary historian and ethnographer Aleksandr Pypin, this collection provides a more concrete outlook on the nature and historical significance of folk poetry than previous publications.[8]

In 1836, collections by Izmail Sreznevsky and Platon Lukashevych appeared, followed in 1856 by publications by Amvrosii Metlynsky and Panteleimon Kulish.[9] In 1859, a collection of songs by historian and folklorist Mykola Kostomarov was released, and in 1874 the first volume of *Istoricheskiia pesni malorusskago naroda* [The historical songs of the Little Rus' people] by Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykhailo Drahomanov appeared.[10] Though 19th century collections of Ukrainian folk poetry often contain reprints from other sources, they feature original materials as well. Overall, thousands of poetic texts (and their variants) were published during the 19th century, including hundreds of songs about Ukrainian Cossacks.

A distinct interest in Ukrainian folk prose became evident later, around the mid-1800s. In 1843, the 2nd issue of *Molodyk* [The young one] featured two Ukrainian folk tales.[11] In 1855-1856, Russian folklorist Aleksandr Afanas'ev published eleven Ukrainian folk tales in his *Narodnye russkie skazki* [Russian folk tales]. In 1907, Polish folklore collector Oscar Kolberg presented materials in his *Wołyń*, which included Ukrainian folk tales recorded since the 1830s. In 1928, Ukrainian folklorist Mykola Levchenko published an extensive collection of Ukrainian folk tales (642 texts), collected in the 1840s-1850s. Also, dozens of tales appeared in Volodymyr Lesevych's "Opovidannia Denysivs'koho kozaka Rodiona F. Chmykhala."[12]

The writer and ethnographer Panteleimon Kulish first paid particular attention to collecting and publishing folk legends and stories.[13] Kulish aimed at detailed research, collection and publication of the folklore materials.[14] His major collection of folklore materials contains a significant number of prose texts about the Ukrainian Cossacks.[15]

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[7] *Istoriia ukrains'koi etnohrafii*, p. 47.

[8] Pypin, pp. 15-16.

[9] Ibid., pp. 98-100, 140-150, 192-200.

[10] Vladimir Antonovich and Mikhail Dragomanov, *Istoricheskiia pesni malorusskago naroda* [The historical songs of the Little Rus' people], vol. 1 (Kiev: M. P. Fritz, 1874), i; *Istoriia ukrains'koi etnohrafii*, pp. 47, 50-51.

[11] Petro Lintur, *A Survey of Ukrainian Folk Tales*, trans. and intro. Bohdan Medwidsky (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1994), pp. 2, 6 passim.

[12] Lintur, pp. 2, 6 passim; Volodymyr Lesevych, "Opovidannia Denysivs'koho kozaka R. F. Chmykhala" [The stories, told by Rodion F. Chmykhalo, the Cossack from Denysivka], *Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk*, vol. XIV (L'viv, 1904).

[13] *Istoriia ukrains'koi etnohrafii*, p. 98.

From the 19th to early 20th centuries, dozens of the folk prose texts about the Cossacks were collected and published by Petro Efymenko,[16] Mykhailo Drahomanov,[17] Pavlo Chubynsky,[18] Ivan Manzhura,[19] Iakiv Novytsky,[20] Dmytro Iavornytsky,[21] Porfyrii Martynovych[22] and others.[23] Folk prose texts continued to be considerably outnumbered by poetic texts and by analytical works on this subject. Also, prose texts about the Cossacks infrequently appeared as illustrations of specific events in Ukrainian history. In this context, a few lines or a vague reference to "Ukrainian folk" were sometimes presented as a source of information on some event or historical personality.[24]

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[14] Pypin, pp. 192-194.

[15] Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], 2 vols. (St.- Petersburg: Tip. A. Iakobsona, 1856).

[16] Petr Efimenko, "Otkuda vzialis' zaporozhtsy" [Where Zaporozhian Cossacks come from], *Kievskaia starina* 12 (1882): 582-593.

[17] Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorusskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Izd.-vo Iugo-zapadnago otdela Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva, 1876).

[18] Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnografichesko-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v zapadno-russkii krai. Materialy i issledovaniia* [The records of ethnographic expedition to western Russia], vol. 2 (St.- Petersburg, 1878).

[19] "Skazki, poslovitsy i t.p., zapisannyie v Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii I. I. Manzhuroiu" [Tales, proverbs and alike recorded in Ekaterinoslav guberniia by I. I. Manzhura], *Sbornik Kharkovskogo filologicheskogo obshchestva. Materialy dlia istorii kolonizatsii i byta Kharkovskoi i otchasti Kurskoi i Voronezhskoi gubernii* (Kharkov: Tip. K. P. Schasni, 1890).

[20] Iakov Novitskii, "Iz narodnykh predanii o zaporozhtsakh" [From the folk stories about Zaporozhian Cossacks], *Kievskaia starina* 10 (1885): 350-353. Also see his *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on the Dnipro: its nature, history and antiquities] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997).

[21] Dmitrii Iavornitskii, "Zhizn' zaporozhskikh kazakov po razskazu ochevidtsa" [The life of Zaporozhian Cossacks according to an eyewitness' testimony], *Kievskaia starina* 11 (1883): 497-519; 7 (1886): 520-536.

[22] Porfyrii Martynovych, *Ukrains'ky zapysy* [Ukrainian records] (Kiev: Typ. Imperatorskago universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1906).

[23] In 1860, Mykola Kostomarov published three issues of his *Pamiatniky starinnoi russkoi literatury* [Monuments of ancient Rus' literature], where he presented various ancient collections— "stories, legends and tales." At the end of the 1860s, Ivan Rudchenko published his two volumes of *Narodnye iuzhnorusskie skazki* [The folk tales of southern Rus'] (1868-1869). Also, on Kostomarov's contribution see *Istoriia ukrains'koi etnografii*, pp. 101-102.

[24] Aleksandr Rigelman, *Letopisnoe povestvovanie o Maloi Rosii i eia narode i kozakakh voobshche 1785-1786* [The chronicle of Little Rus', its people and, generally, the Cossacks] (Moscow: V Universitetskoi tipografii, 1847); Apollon Skalkovskii, *Istoriia Novoi Sichi ili poslednego Kosha Zaporozhskago* [The history of a New Sich or the last stronghold of Zaporozhian Cossacks] (St.- Petersburg, 1886); Dmitrii Iavornitskii, *Istoriia zaporozhskikh kazakov* [The history of Zaporozhian Cossacks], 3 vols. (St.- Petersburg: Tip. Skorokhodova, 1892-1897).

Throughout the 20th century, folk prose continued to attract less attention than folk poetry by both collectors and theoreticians. This was partly related to the 19th century legacy in folklore collection: relatively few prose texts about the Cossacks had been collected. Scholarship of Ukrainian folk prose also suffered from methodological gaps caused when the well-established folkloristic, historical, anthropological and ethnographic traditions were replaced by Marxist social-political philosophy. The "new Soviet scholarship" did not totally reject the pre-revolutionary methodology. On the other hand, the works and views of such leading scholars as Fedir Vovk (ethnography, anthropology), Vasyl' Bidnov (history and culture of Southern Ukraine and Church history), Natalia Polons'ka-Vasylenko (history and culture of Southern Ukraine), Mykhailo Slabchenko (Ukrainian Cossack history and Ukrainian history) and many others were banned. Folk prose studies fell victim to the general crisis which haunted the humanities during the Soviet times.

In the Soviet Union, after the last serious publications during the 1920s to early 1930s,[25] sustained interest towards folk prose was revived only after the end of World War II. Still, publication of folk prose texts dedicated to Ukrainian Cossacks in this period consisted mostly of reprints from earlier collections and works.[26] In terms of theory, the primary interest of the scholars remained with Ukrainian folk poetry— folk songs and *dumy*.[27] This trend appears to persist in modern Ukrainian folklore studies as well.[28]

Few significant contemporary studies of Ukrainian folk prose about the Cossacks exist. A study entitled *Ukrains'kyi fol'klor pro Haidamachchynu* [Ukrainian folklore about Haidamachchyna] by Fedir Keida, which only partially concerns Ukrainian Cossacks and covers both folk poetry and folk prose, and Vasyl' Sokil's *Haidamachchyna v usnii prozi ukraintsiv* [Haidamachchyna in Ukrainian oral prose] stand out among recent publications.[29] Occasional references to Ukrainian Cossacks can be found in the studies on Ukrainian folk prose by Stepan Myshanych and Viktor Davydiuk.[30]

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[25] See the above-mentioned publication of Ukrainian folk tales by M. Levchenko (1928).

[26] See *Narodni opovidannia* [Folk narratives], ed. S. V. Myshanych and O. I Dei (Kyiv: AN URSR, 1983); *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O. I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: AN URSR, 1985).

[27] See *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni* [Ukrainian folk epic recitations and historical songs] (Kyiv: Rylsky instytut, 1955); *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy* [Ukrainian folk epic recitations], ed. V. M. Gatsak, intro. B. P. Kirdan (Moscow: Nauka, 1972).

[28] See Nykyfor Hryhoriiv, *Istoriia Ukrainy v narodnykh dumakh i pisniakh* [Ukrainian history in folk epic recitations and songs] (Kyiv: Veselka, 1993); Marko Plysetskii, *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy: siuzhety i obrazy* [Ukrainian folk epic recitations: their types and images] (Kyiv: Kobza, 1994).

[29] Fedir Keida, *Ukrains'kii fol'klor pro Haidamachchynu* [Ukrainian folklore about "*Haidamachchyna*" (Insurgence)] (Kyiv: Vyrii, 1999); Vasyl' Sokil, "Haidamachchyna v usnii prozi ukraintsiv" [Haidamachchyna in Ukrainian oral prose], *Visnyk L'vivs'koho universytetu*, issue 27, 1999, pp. 98-103.

Since the early 1990s, a number of older manuscripts containing folkloric texts about Ukrainian Cossacks have been assembled or published for the first time. For instance, two important collections of texts by Iakiv Novytsky were made public.[31] Also, some important folklore collections have been reprinted, including Panteleimon Kulish's famous *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* in 1994[32] and Dmytro Iavornytsky's *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda* [Folk memories and antiques related to Zaporozh'e] a year later.[33] Vasyl' Sokil's recent collection of 405 folk narratives contains many which deal with Ukrainian Cossacks.[34] Though extremely important, these publications have yet to fill the gap that exists in understanding the role of the Cossacks in Ukrainian folklore. As of today, no major analytical study on the representation of Cossacks in Ukrainian folk prose has been produced.

The collectors

Folk legends about Ukrainian Cossacks and their motifs are subject to various personal and cultural influences. At this point, it is useful to explore the personalities associated with the collection of the texts.

From a dozen collectors of the folk texts, I propose to focus on Panteleimon Kulish, Iakiv Novytsky and Dmytro Iavornytsky. Their views, methods and contributions can be established with a considerable certainty. These three scholars also wrote other works which were influenced by the folk legends they collected.

Panteleimon Kulish (1819-1897) was a prominent Ukrainian writer, historian, ethnographer and folklorist. Born into a family of Cossack descendants, Kulish grew in an atmosphere of respect for folk traditions. In the 1840s, while a student of Kyiv University, Kulish began collecting folklore. In 1845, he published the first chapters of his novel *Chorna rada* [The rebels' council] and established himself as a writer. One year later, he published his first historical work— *Povest' ob ukrainskom narode* [The story about the Ukrainian people].[35] He taught literature at Petersburg University. In 1847, Kulish conducted more ethnographic and folklore research in the "western provinces of the Russian empire," that is, in Ukraine.

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[30] See Stepan Myshanych, *Usni narodni opovidannia. Pytannia poetyky* [Folk narratives. Issues of poetics] (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1986); Viktor Davydiuk, *Ukrains'ka mifolohichna lehenda* [The Ukrainian mythological legend] (L'viv: Svit, 1992).

[31] Iakiv Novytsky *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [The Cossacks in folk memory] (Zaporizhzhia: Interbook, 1991) and *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro: its nature, history and antiquities] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997). These works feature a fine selection of legends and stories about the Cossacks of the Lower Dnipro region.

[32] Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about southern Rus'], 2 vols. (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856-57; repr., Kyiv: Dnipro, 1994).

[33] Dmitrii Evarnitskii, *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda* [Folk memories and antiques related to Zaporozh'e], p. I, II (St.-Petersburg: Izdanie L. F. Panteleeva, 1888; repr., Kyiv: Veselka, 1995).

[34] Vasyl' Sokil, *Istorychni perekazy Ukraintsiv* [Historical narratives of Ukrainian people] (L'viv: Vyd. Kots', 2003).

Fascinated with the Ukrainian past, Kulish was particularly interested in Ukrainian Cossacks. His views of them varied considerably over time, ranging from fascination to disapproval, and eventually to harsh criticism. He began his historical studies with Cossack chronicles as well as folk poetry and prose which glorified the Cossacks. However, Kulish's later acquaintance with certain archival documents and works by Polish authors made him critical of the Cossacks' "destructive role" in the quest for Ukrainian statehood. The first signs of his negative stance towards Cossacks was already evident in *Chorna Rada* (first published as a whole in 1857). His historical works of the 1870s, especially *Materialy dlia istorii vossoedineniia Ukrainy s Rossiei* [Materials regarding the unification of Ukraine with Russia] (1877-78), were markedly anti-Cossack.[36]

The folklore materials gathered by Panteleimon Kulish during his 1840s expeditions, including legends about Cossacks, were published as *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'] in 1855-56. In this work Kulish included folk tales, songs, *dumy* and legends which related both to pre-Cossack and Cossack times. Legends represented only one area of interest, though an important one. They were collected in what is now central Ukraine, primarily in the Kyiv and Poltava regions. Kulish recorded a legend about the origin of the Cossacks,[37] the initiation of a novice prior to his acceptance into the Cossack brotherhood,[38] a reminiscence about Cossack ways and customs,[39] legends about the Zaporozhian Cossack Vasiurynsky,[40] Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky,[41] Yurii Khmelnytsky,[42] Colonel Semen Palii and Hetman Ivan Mazepa,[43] as well as people's reminiscences about Cossack chastity,[44] their fancy appearance,[45] their trickery[46] and life at Cossack fishing enterprises.[47]

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[35] Dmytro Doroshenko, *Ohliad ukrains'koi istoriohrafii. Derzhavna shkola: istoriia, politolohiia, pravo* [The survey of Ukrainian historiography. The statist school: history, political science, jurisprudence] (Kyiv: Ukrainoznavstvo, 1996), pp. 110-111.

[36] Dmytro Doroshenko, *Panteleimon Kulish. Literaturni kharakterystyky ukrains'kykh pys'mennykiv* [Panteleimon Kulish. The literary characteristics of Ukrainian writers], IV (Leipzig: Ukrains'ka nakladnia, 1923), pp. 171-181.

[37] See Appendix A (№ 5).

[38] See Appendix B (№ 1).

[39] See Appendix B (№ 2).

[40] See Appendix B (№ 3).

[41] See Appendix C (№ 1, № 2, № 3, № 4, № 5, № 6).

[42] See Appendix C (№ 7).

[43] See Appendix C (№ 12, № 13, № 14).

[44] See Appendix B (№ 4).

[45] See Appendix B (№ 5).

[46] See Appendix B (№ 8).

[47] See Appendix B (№ 6).

Zapiski provides some insight into Kulish's approaches and his philosophy as a folklorist. In the "Introduction" he indicates that, like many of his contemporaries, he has "...always been fascinated with stories told by the common people."[48] Kulish continues, writing:

> I long ago began value those stories; however, for a long time I was mistaken, considering that [my] memory alone is sufficient for their preservation. My experience proved to me that memory retains only the spirit and the contents of the story, but stories' original forms give way to general forms of people's speech...finally, I became convinced not to rely upon [my] memory, but to record every unique pattern of speech in the story and every transition from one thought to another.[49]

Kulish made interesting observations about the relationship between the informants and the actual events they were describing. In his opinion, the number of intermediaries involved in passing on of a particularly story, affected its content. On one occasion the collector noted that he was told two very similar stories about brigands hiding in the reeds (*komyshnyky*). One of the informants, Iurchenko, told his story as an "echo"— a very vague memory of an actual event, passed to him by several intermediaries. In contrast, another interviewee, Klym Belik, actually knew the participants of the particular event he narrated (his father and his father's friend) and his account represented a re-telling of a first-person experience.[50]

Panteleimon Kulish questioned the credibility of some of his informants and their stories. On one occasion he wrote, "I do not completely trust the account of Kindrat Taranukha," about the Cossack company commander Kharko.[51] To Kulish, "fantasies" of the informants undermined the credibility of certain accounts. For instance, while presenting a narrative about the Tsar leaving his will engraved on a stone, forbidding the taking of lands from the Cossacks, Kulish indicated his view that the content of the inscription was made up:

> It would be curious to find out what guided Vasyl' Kutsenko, while he was reading a non-existant inscription on that stone. The father of the narrator traveled to the Don region during the time

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[48] Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Alexandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 1.

[49] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 1.

[50] Ibid., p. 159. See Appendix B (№ 2).

[51] Ibid., p. 98.

> when Zaporozhian Cossacks quarreled over their lands with Serbian settlers. Vasyl' Kutsenko could have visited the Cossacks' fishing enterprises looking for employment … and learning stories there about the imaginary rights of the Cossacks…[52]

The collector most likely viewed this episode as "fantasy" with no actual historical value. He made notes as to his thoughts about the connection between the particular narrative and "actual" history in other passages as well.[53]

It is clear that Kulish's primary interest in oral tradition was its relevance to history. Therefore, folklore for him was just another historical source, though not always an accurate one. Such an attitude could have influenced Kulish to record folklore selectively, ignoring texts of "low" historical value. At the same time, the scholar tried to record texts accurately, sometimes asking an informant to repeat his story several times. Though critical of some of his collected texts because of their "fantastic" elements, he nonetheless found certain ones valuable enough to be published. Panteleimon Kulish must have viewed those texts as significant in that they provided an insight into the mentality of Ukrainian folk. This mentality fascinated Kulish and many of his contemporaries.

Though not a trained scholar, Iakiv Novytsky (1847-1925) emerged as an important researcher of the Cossack past and a celebrated author of some forty works in the fields of history, ethnography, folklore, statistics, and nature studies. In spite of the fact that he divided his time between teaching, supervising public schools and scholarship, Novytsky made rich collections of folklore.[54] Novytsky was specifically interested in folk memory about Southern Ukraine's past, with Cossacks representing a large part. Legends about the Cossacks collected by Novytsky came from the former Cossack lands in the lower Dnipro region (contemporary Zaporizhzhia and Dnipropetrovs'k regions). Between 1874 and 1885, he collected numerous accounts about Zaporozhian Cossacks. They deal with the origin of Cossacks and the foundation of their order, their supernatural characteristics, their land, liberties, wars against the Turks and their disbandment by Empress Catherine II.[55] Novytsky also collected many legends about Cossacks and their hidden enchanted treasures.[56] Novytsky's romantic perception of the past and of Cossacks in particular, may well have affected the choice of folklore materials he collected and published.

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[52] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 155.

[53] Ibid., pp. 75, 96, 155.

[54] Iakov Novitskii, "Iz narodnykh predanij o zaporozhtsakh" [From the folk stories about Zaporozhian Cossacks], *Kievskaia starina* 10 (1885): 350-353; also his "Malorusskiia pesni, preimushchestvenno istoricheskie, sobranye Ia. P. Novitskim v Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii v 1874-1894 godakh" [The songs of Little Rus', mostly historical, collected by Ia. P. Novitskii in Ekaterinoslav gubernia in 1874-1894], *Sbornik Kharkovskogo istoriko-filologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. VI (Kharkov: Tip Gub. Pravleniia, 1894).

[55] See Appendix A (№ 1, № 2, № 7, № 8); B (№ 18; № 19).

Some of Novytsky's recordings were first published in Mykhailo Drahomanov's *Malorusskie narodnye predaniia i razskazy* [The folk stories of Little Rus'] (1876)— one of the most influential collections of folklore of that time. However, many of the narratives about the Cossacks remained unpublished during Novytsky's lifetime. Some of those texts became available to the general public only in the end of the 20th century with *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories] (1985), *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [Cossacks in the folk memory] (1991) and *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro, its nature, history, antiquities] (1997).[57]

Novytsky wrote that he spent more than thirty years surrounded by the carriers of historical tradition, in the circle of natural singers, men who cooked, sniffed and smoked tobacco while telling their stories.[58] "By now, those old men lie in graves, but their *memory* is still fresh, and many poetic pictures were preserved by that memory!"[59] Novytsky had a permanent country house (*kurin'*) on the island of Khortytsia — the heartland of the old Cossack land — where he spent many days and nights talking to people and taking his notes.[60]

Iakiv Novytsky himself described the typical collecting situation. "During the day time, under the shadows of the cliffs and pussy-willows, during the night under the sky, full of stars, around the burning bonfire, surrounded by gray-haired old men with tanned faces— those were the circumstances under which our conversations took place."[61] Iavornytsky describes that Novytsky was recognized by one of his old informants during one of their joint expeditions near the town of Oleksandrivsk and Khortytsia: "You are Iakiv Pavlovych, aren't you? I didn't recognize you right away: old man's memory, you see. You would like to ask me about the old times, wouldn't you?"[62] Iakiv Novytsky had been collecting folklore materials in that specific area for a long time, so that he had become well-known for his interest in antiquity. The scholar was particularly interested in talking to elderly people because they remembered about the Cossack past. Most likely, he had a group of favorite informants, including Dmytro Bykovsky, Osyp Shut' and "old man" Buhaida, who supplied him with the majority of his narratives. His collecting technique involved informal conversations, which probably helped him to relax with his informants and win their trust. The collector seems to have consciously created romantic settings for his conversations with informants, doing this in part for his own self-image and satisfaction.

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[56] See Appendix D (№ 2, № 3, № 4, № 5, № 6, № 7, № 8, № 9, № 10, № 11, № 12, № 13, № 14, № 15, № 16, № 17, № 18, № 19).

[57] See Chapter 4. Unfortunately, some of his notes, containing folklore, were confiscated by the authorities in 1878 and have never been recovered.

[58] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, p. 4.

[59] Ibid., p. 4.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda*, part I, p. 139.

In at least some cases, Novytsky tried to identify the initial source of the story that he heard. One of his informants, the 87-year old Buhaida, often referred to "his grandfather, who himself was a Cossack."[63] This reference demonstrates that Novytsky was somewhat concerned with authenticity of the narratives. His main concern in collecting and publishing folklore however, was the preservation of memory about ancient times.

Dmytro Iavornytsky (1855-1940) was a prominent historian, archeologist, ethnographer and folklorist, author of over 200 scholarly works. He entered the historical-philological department of Kharkiv University in 1877 and graduated in 1881. He published his first historical work on the history of Zaporozhian Cossacks, entitled *Vozniknovenie i ustroistvo Zaporozhskogo kosha* [The foundation and structure of the organization of Zaporozhian Cossacks], in 1881-1882. The young scholar was reprimanded by his superiors for choosing this topic, and his scholarship was taken away.[64] In 1883, Dmytro Iavornytsky published one of his first historical-ethnographic works, *Zhizn' zaporozhtsev po rasskazu sovremennika-ochevidtsa* [The life of Zaporozhian Cossacks, narrated by their contemporary].[65] That very year, Iavornytsky was elected a member of the Historical-philological society of Kharkiv, where he worked with other prominent figures in Ukrainian studies: Oleksandr Potebnia, Mykhailo Sumtsov, Dmytro Bahalii and Petro Efymenko. Iavornytsky was considered for a post-graduate position at the university, but it never came through because of his "separatist" views. After this, Iavornytsky traveled throughout the former Cossack lands, collecting folklore and ethnographic materials, and publishing them in various newspapers and journals, particularly *Kievs'kaia starina* [Kyivan antiquity].[66]

Between 1883 and 1888 Iavornytsky was engaged in correspondence with Iakiv Novytsky. In one of his letters from 1883, Iavornytsky announced his intention to conduct expeditions through the old Cossack lands.[67] He made these trips in 1884 and 1886. He published his findings, including folk legends about Cossacks, in *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh*

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[63] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, p. 38.

[64] M. Oliinyk-Shubravska, "Rannia naukova diial'nist' D.I. Iavornyts'koho ta ioho persha istoryko-narodoznavcha monohrafiia pro Zaporozhzha" [The early scholarly activity of D.I. Iavornytsky and his first historical-ethnographic monograph about Zaporozhzha], in *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda*, 1995, pp. 6-7.

[65] Ibid., p. 8.

[66] Ibid., p. 8.

[67] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

naroda [Folk memories and antiquities related to Zaporozh'e] in 1888.[68] Within a few years after his *Zaporozh'e...*, Iavornytsky published several more historical works which contained additional folklore and ethnographic materials: *Ocherki po istorii zaporozhskikh kazakov i Novorossiiskogo kraia* [Sketches from the history of Zaporozhian Cossacks and "New Russia"] (1889), *Vol'nosti zaporozhskikh kazakov* [Autonomy of Zaporozhian Cossacks] (1890), *Ivan Dmitrievich Sirko— slavnyi koshevoi ataman Voiska zaporozhskikh nizovykh kazakov* [Ivan Dmitrievich Sirko— the glorious chieftain of the Host of the Cossacks of Lower Dnipro] (1894), and his fundamental *Istoriia zaporozhskikh kazakov* [The history of Zaporozhian Cossacks] (1892-1897).

Dmytro Iavornytsky's scholarly interest was with Zaporozhian Cossacks as such. Like Novytsky, Iavornytsky collected materials from the former Cossack lands in the lower Dnipro region. His incentive for studying folklore was to expand the source base for studying the Cossacks. He was primarily interested in first-hand accounts (*opovidannia*).[69] In Iavornytsky's opinion, those accounts contained truthful information about the Cossacks and their order during the last years of their existence. However, he also collected legends, particularly about Cossack Chieftain Ivan Sirko[70] and Cossacks as invincible warriors-sorcerers (*kharakternyky*).[71]

Most of Iavornytsky's folk legends about Cossacks were published in his *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda* (1888). This work, composed in the form of a travel diary in the first person, was sometimes criticized by Iavornytsky's contemporaries for its "lyricism" and interest in "folk tales." Other scholars, including Mykhailo Sumtsov and Aleksandr Pypin, praised *Zaporozh'e*. This work features many narratives about Zaporozhian Cossacks, their supernatural characteristics, Colonel Semen Palii and Hetman Ivan Mazepa, as well as legends about the origin of various local objects (cliffs, ravines, groves and so forth).[72] It also provides us with an insight into Iavornytsky's approaches to collecting the folklore materials, his objectives and the personalities of his informants.

Due to his professional training, expertise in various fields and his fascination with the topic, Dmytro Iavornytsky can be considered the most authoritative Cossack specialist in 19th century Ukraine. Iavornytsky makes reference to archival materials, historical works, archeological artifacts and folklore in his studies. His main objective for collecting and analyzing these texts was illumination of the Cossack past by expanding the source base for his research. Interested in finding new facts, Iavornytsky actively interviewed older people who were related to Cossacks or might remember them. The scholar corroborated his findings by testing them against other sources such as written chronicles, government documents and people's diaries. His critical approach stood in balance with his romantic impression of Cossacks and their role in Ukrainian history.

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[68] Oliinyk-Shubravska, pp. 10-11, 17-18, 20.

[69] See Appendix A (№ 9.)

[70] See Appendix C (№ 8, № 9, № 10, № 11).

[71] See Appendix B (№ 16, № 17).

[72] Oliinyk-Shubravska, pp. 24-25.

Other collectors also contributed to this corpus. For instance, Hryhorii Zaliubovsky (?-1898), during his expedition to Volyn' region, recorded two texts in which Cossacks are portrayed as humorous and witty people.[73] Volodymyr Menchits (1837-1916) collected legends about Cossacks and Tatars as *kharakternyky*,[74] about Colonel Semen Palii and the Tatar knight[75] and about Palii and Hetman Ivan Mazepa.[76] Porfyrii Martynovych (1856-1933), was interested in collecting a diverse folklore. During his 1877 expedition to Zolotonosha and Kostiantynohrad counties (Poltava region), he recorded a legend about the origin of the Cossacks[77] and a reminiscence about Zaporozhian Cossacks by the eye-witness Tymofii Rossokha.[78]

It is clear that the personalities of folklore collectors and their informants profoundly affected the folk narratives about Ukrainian Cossacks, which constitute the subject of this research. Kulish, Novytsky and Iavornytsky each had different professional training, somewhat different philosophies, and pursued somewhat different goals. Panteleimon Kulish was interested in collecting folklore about Ukraine's past and not specifically about Ukrainian Cossacks. To him, the main value of the folk texts was their relation to history. He was clearly less interested in non-historical folklore. He perceived their stories as examples of faulty historical memory, and sometimes appears dissatisfied with his informants' "fantasizing." Unlike some other collectors, Kulish published texts which portray negative characteristics of the Cossacks: their trickery, adultery and activity in the slave trade. This observation raises several questions: Did the collector include them because of his preconceived negative attitude towards Cossacks? If he did not have such a preconceived position, did those texts affect his later works? If Kulish found and included those texts, then why did the other collectors not publish negative stories about Cossacks? These questions are addressed in the following chapters of this dissertation.

In contrast, Novytsky's main focus was specifically the collection and publication of folklore itself. Novytsky viewed folklore as the way of preserving memory about Cossacks. Iavornytsky's main goal overlapped with the other two men, though his objectives were specifically to reconstruct the history of the Cossacks. He used folk narratives as one of his valuable sources. All three of these researchers attempted to support their findings in folklore with confirmation from other fields.

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[73] See Appendix B (№ 9, № 10).
[74] See Appendix B (№ 13).
[75] See Appendix C (№ 15).
[76] See Appendix C (№ 16).
[77] See Appendix A (№ 3).
[78] See Appendix B (№ 7).

The narrators

The informants' memory and personal experiences also shaped the texts they told. Mainly old people, they were selected for their age and for their knowledge of a specific matter— life in the past and the Cossacks. In some cases, their repertoire, attitudes, motivation and willingness to speak to collectors can be established to certain extent. Among them were peasants, Cossacks, priests, wandering merchants, fishermen and watchmen.

Kulish's impression of the bearers of oral tradition in his own time was not very favorable. He believed that only those who tried to collect folklore can appreciate the difficulties of this activity. "You enter the hut and ask people there to sing a popular song. And their answer will be: are we drunk that we have to sing?"[79] The author wrote that the a singer begging on the road is more likely to perform church school psalms for a romantically-motivated traveler (such as Kulish himself), but leave the more valuable Cossack (*kozats'ki*) and captive's (*nevil'nyts'ki*) songs for a friend. He won't understand what is important to the researcher. When asked about antiquity, that beggar will answer: "Sir! How am I supposed to know about antiquity? I am a young person."[80] Kulish expressed his view that the collector "must have enough time to get people to know and like you" in order to succeed.[81]

While he acknowledged the existence of highly-gifted "blind singers" in the past, Kulish viewed their contemporary descendants as "shallow" (*izmel'chali*): "...The blind singers have become shallow long ago and with time flying by, the people have lost interest in their songs and *dumy*... My Kyivan beggar did not know a single historical song, not a single military or moralistic *duma*... The ancient beggars attracted attention not by emphasizing their pitiful condition, but by the sound and content of their songs... Contemporary ones secure their income by monotonous begging..."[82]

Kulish recorded his first folk legend (*narodnoe predanie*) from that blind beggar in Kyiv. Despite his earlier disparaging comments, he allowed that some performers had excellent memory, "capable of retaining many songs and stories."[83] His Kyivan informant's repertoire did not impress the collector at first. However, he eventually recorded from him a very interesting legend "about Mykhailyk and the Golden gates" and another one "about the Tatars' captives."[84]

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[79] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 100.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[83] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[84] Ibid., p. 2. The scholar called him a "representative of a new generation [of professional beggars]" i.e., a person, unworthy of his glorious and prolific predecessors.

Kulish provides no detailed information about his first informant in his publications, calling him simply "my Kyivan beggar." Semen Iurchenko, Kindrat Taranukha and Klym Belik, who told Kulish legends about Cossacks, are identified by name, but little else.[85] At the same time, Kulish is much more specific about the blind singers, like Arkhyp Nykonenko and Andriy Shut, from whom he recorded several *dumy* and songs.[86]

Novytsky and Iavornytsky were both primarily interested in interviewing elderly men (*didy*), who supposedly had first-hand knowledge of ancient Cossacks. One of Iavornytsky's informants was Iakiv Lytvyn, 108, "one of the oldest men in the stock of old people in all lands of former Zaporozhzha..."[87] Another informant, Ivan Rossoloda, 116, had been a Cossack himself.[88]

Iavornytsky provides insights into the collecting situation and some of his informants' motivations to tell their stories. For instance, he describes Lytvyn as follows: "In the village of Plakhtiivka lives an ancient (*drevnii*) man, Iakov Lytvyn[ov], who loves to tell stories about Zaporozhian Cossacks during his leisure hours..."[89] Lytvyn must have been flattered by the Iavornytsky's attention and interest in his narratives. "Unfortunately," Iavornytsky notes, "he is an outsider in this area (*zakhozhii chelovek*), with no personal relation to the Cossacks. If not for this fact, due to his memory, inquisitive nature and old age, he would have told much truthful and accurate [information] about the life of Zaporozhian Cossacks..."[90] This passage clearly indicates the collector's interest in credible accounts as well as his preconception regarding who could be considered the " most valuable" source of folklore about the Cossacks.

Unlike the "outsider" Iakov Lytvyn, another very old informant of Iavornytsky was identified as "the only [living] representative of the fallen Cossack host of Zaporozhzha."[91] Ivan Rossoloda was reportedly 116 years old at the time of his interview. He was born to a Cossack family in the town of Nikopol', but spent his juvenile years at a Cossack farm (*zymivnyk*) after his father left the *Sich*.[92] Ivan Rossoloda married a daughter of a nobleman from the Poltava region. His first wife died six years later, leaving him with their daughter, Iryna. At the time of this interview, Iryna was reportedly 80 years old, having children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of her own, and living in the Kuban' region— the land of the Black Sea Cossacks.[93] Rossoloda's second marriage was to a peasant girl, with whom he fathered four sons and two daughters. The informant maintained that he remembered the reign of Empress Catherine (d. 1796).[94]

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[85] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 75, 96, 155.
[86] Ibid., pp. 7-14, 43-51.
[87] *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda*, p. 42.
[88] Ibid., p. 244.
[89] Ibid., p. 41.
[90] Ibid., p. 42.
[91] Ibid., p. 244
[92] Ibid., pp. 244-245.
[93] Ibid., p. 245.

"It was Sunday," Iavornytsky writes in his book, "when I came to see Ivan Rossoloda. The weather was great. I crossed the yard and went to the garden, where I saw a small hut... [I] greeted Rossoloda and we exchanged two-three phrases about the weather, after which I began my inquiries about the life of Zaporozhian Cossacks. Rossoloda, being forewarned about the coming of the "Zaporozhian lord" (that was my name in this village), answered my questions willingly. I recorded his entire story accurately over several sessions..."[95] The entire interview took form of a rather informal exchange:

Rossoloda: —What are you interested in?
Iavornytsky: —I need to ask you some questions about Zaporozhian Cossacks; what kind of people they were, how they lived and where they went, leaving memories about them behind?
Rossoloda: —That is to say, you are interested in truth, true facts?
Iavornytsky: —Yes, yes, my dear old man, I want to learn true facts from them. Do you know anything about them?
Rossoloda: —Of course, I know things about them, because my father was a Zaporozhian Cossack himself.
Iavornytsky: —Really?!
Rossoloda: —Indeed. Initially he was deputy to the [Cossack] chieftain Perebiinis...
Iavornytsky: —Now, tell me, my dear old man, where did Zaporozhian Cossacks come from?
Rossoloda: —Where did they come from? They came from everywhere. This one [came] from here, another one— from there. From ten to twenty, from twenty to thirty— and they became a mighty force...[96]

After these initial questions, Iavornytsky inquired about the number of warriors in the Cossack host, about their appearance, their skills, behavior during war and peacetime, their lands and about the end of the Cossack order during the reign of Catherine II of Russia.[97]

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[94] *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda*, p. 245.
[95] Ibid., pp. 245-246.
[96] Ibid., p. 246.
[97] Ibid., pp. 247-271.

In *Zaporozh'e*, Iavornytsky describes a joint interview of Novytsky and himself with "old man But." The informant was telling a story about a Cossack sorcerer escaping the Poles by diving into the pail of water and emerging in the river many miles away. At one point the old man became offended. Perhaps, But thought the interviewer had withheld some information from him, or perhaps he suspected that the interviewer had learned this story from other source. As Iavornytsky writes, this situation changed the informant's demeanor quite clearly. After Iavornytsky told the old man that he did not trust books, except for the Holy Scripture, "the trust was restored and we continued talking about Zaporozhian Cossacks."[98] The issue of "trust" was considered important by all collectors of folklore: its absence could jeopardize the interview and the content of the recorded materials.

Between 1828 and 1831, Archbishop Gabriel (Rosanov) interviewed an old Zaporozhian Cossack, Mykyta Korzh (d. 1835 at the age of 104), from whom he learned much about the Cossacks' organization, way of life and their past. Mykyta Korzh was interviewed on a number of occasions and was most likely motivated to talk by reverence for the cleric and respect for the Archbishop's interest in his knowledge. He provided many firsthand details about Cossack laws, justice and the capture of the Sich by the Russians in 1775. It seems that Korzh was quite judicious in telling his stories, not wanting to misinform. While speaking about the origin of the Cossacks, the informant pointed out that "I cannot positively establish when exactly and from what time the Zaporozhian Host came into being…According to an oral account, passed from my great-grandfather, grandfather and father, I was informed that the Zaporozhian Cossacks in the times of old were known as *Khozary*."[99]

Ivan Manzhura, another collector, documented how a resident of a neighboring village once began telling the story about Colonel Palii, Hetman Mazepa and the Swedes without being asked to do so as they were walking:

> …After we had passed through the forest the resident [of Tarasivka] stopped and turned his head back:
> —O, God, what a great forest this used to be. —This very place is known as *prosika* (a trail, cut through the woods — *R. S.*).
> —And why is that?

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[98] *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda*, p. 141.

[99] *Ustnoe povestvovanie byvshago zaporozhtsa, zhitelia Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii i uezda, seleniia Mikhailovki, Nikity Leontievicha Korzha* [Oral account of the former Cossack Mykyta Korzh] (Odessa: V Gorodskoi tipografii, 1842), pp. 1-10. See Appendix A (№ 6).

> —Here's why. When the Swedish army was moving towards Poltava, there were so many of them… and there they cut through the woods and made this trail.[100]

The fisherman Stephan Shtepa, 67, was interviewed by Iakiv Novytsky at the village of Voznesenka on December 28, 1877. Shtepa told four legends about Cossack hidden treasures.[101] Little is known about Shtepa, except for his profession, age and place of residence. Perhaps he was more willing to talk and share his knowledge because he was interviewed during the Christmas holidays, and was therefore not being taken away from his fishing business.

Another of Novytsky's informants, old man Vasyl Nahyrnii, 95, was interviewed at the town of Oleksandrivsk on December 1, 1884. He spoke about the enchanted treasures on the island of Khortytsia. Being 95 years old himself, Nahyrnii referred to the authority of "old men" to establish the story's authority, and probably to impress the interviewer who expressed interest in the past.[102]

All in all, each of the informants had a different life experience, motivation and different stories to tell, which must be taken into consideration while analyzing their texts.

The corpus

The texts which comprise the corpus for this dissertation were collected between the 1820s and the early 1900s. In addition to the personalities of collectors and their informants, these texts were influenced by a number of other factors: Ukrainian oral tradition, international folklore, as well as written literature.

The motifs and storylines in the corpus have diverse origins. For example, the appearance of Cossacks and some of their deeds (Cossacks' as superb riders and warriors, fighting with Turks and Tatars) are portrayed very similarly in Ukrainian legends and historical poetry.[103] Further, certain motifs of the supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks echo motifs from Irish and Scandinavian legends as well as Russian folktales.[104] Furthermore, certain literary motifs were adapted and adopted in Ukrainian legends from the works of both foreign and domestic writers (Cossacks as knights and Cossacks as *Khozary*).[105] Overall, the corpus of legends had many personal and cultural influences.

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[100] *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy*, pp. 205-206. See Appendix C (№ 17).

[101] See Appendix D (№ 8, № 9, № 10, and № 11).

[102] See Appendix D (№ 15).

[103] See discussion in chapters 4 and 5.

[104] See discussion in Chapter 4 (section 4.2).

[105] See discussion in chapters 4 and 5.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which narratives included in this corpus are representative of the entire folk prose about the Cossacks. An attempt was made to be as comprehensive as possible in compiling available texts. Some texts, identified after organizing the corpus, were not included in appendices. However, they were considered while conducting analysis of legends' influence upon the formation of Cossacks' image (images).[106] If more texts are identified and added to the corpus in future, they may add to the number of types and motifs, without subtracting from ones identified here.

The number of stories told but never recorded is surely great compared with the few that were preserved. In any event, the texts analyzed in this dissertation include a large number of motifs and storylines. Their analysis will result in a greater understanding of how the personalities of folklore collectors and their informants, influences from Ukrainian and international folklore and written literature affected them and, ultimately, the image of "a Cossack" in 19th century Ukraine.

The method

The main objectives of this study are: 1) to assemble a corpus of legends about the Cossacks; 2) to identify and analyze the tale types and motifs in these texts; 3) to examine various factors which influenced the texts; 4) to compare the portrayal of Ukrainian Cossacks in folk legends and other genres of Ukrainian folklore; 5) to analyze the contribution of folk legend motifs in the formation of an image (images) of "a Cossack"; 6) to demonstrate how the depiction of Cossacks in folk legends influenced literature in the 19th century Ukraine.

The first step in this project is to assemble a corpus of prose texts dealing with Cossacks. I searched the published literature for texts which go beyond the mere mention of Cossacks, but deal with Cossacks and their life more substantially. I specifically focus on legends, stories that were presented as non-fictional, and excluded *Märchen*, proverbs, and other forms. I am interested in the connection between the narratives and the worldview and identity of the narrators, and believe that this relationship is different for the fictional genres as opposed to the non-fictional stories.

I organize the folk legends and their content in a hierarchical framework. The stories are first divided into four main "themes," which include all texts dealing with a particular subject. I propose that legends about Cossacks can be organized into those that deal with origins; those that describe Cossack characteristics; those that describe experiences of specific individuals; and those that deal with Cossack treasures.

The legends within each theme can be grouped into one or more "types." A tale "type" is a "narrative plot identified by a name and a concise description of its contents."[107] Types are abstract constructions, and are normally identified "based on several concrete text variants or versions of the plot."

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[106] Vasyl' Sokil's *Istorychni perekazy Ukraintsiv* (2003) may serve as an example.

Each narrative is composed of one or more "motifs." Stith Thompson's definition of a motif is "a unit of content found in prose narratives or in poems," a detail, "of which full-fledged narratives are composed."[108] This standard definition has been discussed and critiqued by more recent scholars of folklore, but serves our general purposes here.[109] I use the Aarne-Thompson Tale Type classification and Motif Index for comparative references in this work.

The objectives of this dissertation dictated its structure. In the *Introduction*, I provide a general overview of the history of Ukrainian folklore publications dealing with the Cossacks. I look at the collectors and narrators of the corpus of Cossack legends to gain a perspective on the biases they bring to the corpus, and note other factors which influenced the texts.

In *Chapter 1*, I describe how the emergence of the Cossack estate in early-modern Ukrainian society resulted in appearance of a unique "Cossack lore." Ties between the Cossacks and rest of the Ukrainian populace implied close relations between the Cossack lore and the rest of Ukrainian folklore. A clear image of "a Cossack" developed in Ukrainian folklore.

In *Chapter 2*, I talk about the portrayal of Ukrainian Cossacks in folk poetry. Images of Cossacks are very numerous in Ukrainian folklore and have attracted much attention from analysts.

In *Chapter 3*, I explore the differences between such genres as "myth," "legend" and "tale." Texts in my corpus can be described as legends.

In *Chapter 4*, I take a close look at each main theme, type and motif that are present in the legends about the Cossacks. This survey brings out the most common ideas which formed the core of the Cossack as "culture hero" in Ukrainian folk tradition.

In *Conclusion*, I discuss the formation of the "Cossack image" (or multiple images) in Ukrainian folklore and establish impact of folk legends on selected texts in 19th century Ukrainian literature.

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[107] S. v. "Tale type," by Satu Apo in Thomas A. Green, ed. *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art*, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1997), pp. 785-787 (on page 785).

[108] *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folklore Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends*. Revised and enlarged, ed. Stith Thompson, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana, UP, 1955), vol. 1, p. 10; S. v. "Motif," by Satu Apo in Thomas A. Green, ed. *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art*, vol. 2, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1997), pp. 563-564 (on page 563).

[109] "Motif," p. 563.

This dissertation also includes a *bibliography* and four *appendices*. In the appendices I present each of the 77 texts that comprise the corpus, both in the original language and in English.

CHAPTER 1: COSSACK LORE IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter provides a survey of Ukrainian Cossack history and portrays them as a distinct group. It also explores the folklore about Ukrainian Cossacks as a part of Ukrainian folklore in general. The folklore of the Cossack cycle" concentrates on the life of the Cossacks and is connected to the "Princely Age," "chumak" and "recruit/soldier" folklore cycles.

1.1 A survey of Ukrainian Cossack history

Ukrainian Cossacks were military people in what are now Ukrainian lands within the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (after 1569 known together as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or *Rzeczpospolita*) and Russian-controlled territories of the Lower Dnipro region and Central Ukraine.

"Cossack" as a term most probably derives from *Qazaq* — "a free man" in Turkish — and initially applied during the mid-12th to early 13th centuries in regard to certain groups of young adventurous people from various Turkic ethnicities.[1] The first mention of Cossacks appeared in the Turkic and European *Primary Mongolian Chronicle* (1240), *Sinaxar Hagiography* (1308), *Codex Cumanicus* (1303). The existence of the Cossacks of non-Turkic origin in the Lower Dnipro area around 1491-1492 is confirmed by a complaint of the Turkish Sultan to the Grand Duke of Lithuania in regard to a Cossack attack against a Turkish ship near Tiahyn (now the city of Bender in present-day Moldova).[2] By the end of the 15th century the name "Cossack" acquires a wider sense and is applied to those people who went to the steppes to pursue various livelihoods (trapping, bee-keeping, fishing, etc.) and/or settled there on a permanent basis.[3] In this dissertation, I view Cossacks as military group. Their military service constituted the main dividing line between the Cossacks and the others.

The hostile environment of the southern borderlands required that the settlers organize themselves for protection against enemy raids. According to Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the emergence of the original Cossack Host of the Lower Dnipro (*Zaporozhzhia*) was caused by the colonization of the southern territories, as well as by the need for self-defense on the part of the settlers and a reliable military defense system along the borders with the Khanate of Crimea and Nohai Tatars' horde on the part of the Lithuanian and Polish-Lithuanian governments.[4]

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[1] S. v. "Cossacks," by Orest Subtelny and Ivan Vytanovych in Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto; Buffalo; London: U of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 593.

[2] Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 7, trans. Bohdan Strumiński (Edmonton; Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1999), p. 61.

[3] Subtelny and Vytanovych, p. 593.

By the end of the 16th century the government of the recently founded Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth recognized the significance of the Cossacks by creating an army of the so-called "registered" (*raestrovi*) Cossacks. This recognition also represented an attempt by the government of the Commonwealth to regulate and control the so-called "Cossack problem."[5] As the Cossack Host of Zaporozhzhia grew, it resisted various limitations imposed by the Commonwealth government. It increased both in numerical strength and influence upon the military, political and religious matters of the Commonwealth and neighboring lands. The following are just a few examples of such influence.

First of all, the Cossacks staged a number of large-scale rebellions against certain policies aimed at controlling them and further enslaving the peasants. In 1592-1593 a rebellion under Kryshtof Kosynsky erupted, which was followed by a succession of almost incessant uprisings and other forms of disobedience until the very end of the 1630s. Those rebellions forced the government to take the Cossacks seriously and to use a combination of military force and concessions to pacify them.

Secondly, between 1614 and 1618, the Cossacks executed a number of successful maritime expeditions against Turkish strongholds in Crimea and Asia Minor. Those attacks, while severing relations between Turkey and Poland, elevated the reputation of the Cossacks as fearsome warriors.

Thirdly, the Cossacks played an active role in the war of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth against Muscovy, fighting in every major campaign between 1605 and 1618, when a truce was finally reached between the Polish King and the Russian Tsar. Without the Cossacks' assistance, Polish military successes in that campaign would have been unlikely.

Fourthly, the thirty-thousand-strong Cossack Host under the leadership of Hetman Petro Sahaidachny saved Poland, Ukraine and neighboring lands from Turkish invasion during the campaign of Khotyn (1621). Even the Polish authors, who generally disliked the Cossacks, praised the Cossack role in saving Europe from Turkish aggression (e.g., Wacław Potocki, the author of *The War of Khotyn*).[6]

The Cossacks' role in the early-modern Ukrainian political and cultural life continued to increase in the 1610s and on. They entered a union with progressive elements within the Orthodox Church and served as an embodiment of real "earthly power" in the struggle for broader political, religious and other rights.[7]

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[4] *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 7, 1999, pp. 1 - 51.

[5] Subtelny and Vytanovych, p. 594.

[6] *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 7, 1999, pp. 139 - 150, 156 - 180, 269 - 291, 293 - 302.

The peak of strength and influence of the Ukrainian Cossacks came during the mid-17th century, when the Cossacks of Zaporozhzhia began a rebellion against the policies of the aristocracy-controlled Polish-Lithuanian government in Ukrainian lands. Joined by the registered Cossacks, townsfolk and peasants, this popular uprising soon turned into the War of National Liberation and resulted in the creation of an early-modern Ukrainian State – the Hetmanate (1648-1764).[8]

The Cossacks of both the Hetmanate and the *Zaporozhzhia* hosts took an active role in the ensuing struggle for control, fighting against their enemies and among themselves, making and breaking alliances with numerous warring parties: the Muscovites (Russians), the Poles, the Ottoman Turks, the Tatars and the Swedes. The establishment of Russian control over the *Zaporoz'ka Sich*[9] and the Hetmanate coincided with the decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and became effective around the 1680s.

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[7] Mykhailo Hrushevsky cites the lines from *Protestatsia* [The protestation] by Metropolitan Job Boretsky (ca 1621) about the Cossacks, where the Metropolitan offers an insight on the origins of the Cossacks and their role in the political and cultural life of Ukrainian society: "As for the Cossacks we know that they are of our genes, our brethren and Christians of Orthodox rite... Since antiquity, they do possess their natural intelligence, zealousness and love for their faith, God-loving nature and respect for the Church. ...They are of the tribe of a glorious Rus' people, [which originates] from the seed of Japheth, and which fought against the Greek Empire on both the Black Sea and the land. It was they, who at the times of Oleh, the monarch of Rus', raided the Black Sea in their μοηοξύλαε [boats, made out of the trunk of a single tree] and stormed Constantinople from the land, placing their boats on wheels. It was they, who during the times of Volodymyr, the monarch-saint of the Rus' people, fought against Greece, Macedonia and Illiricum. It was their ancestors, who were baptized together with Volodymyr, accepting the Christian faith from the Church of Constantinople, and to these days are being born, baptized and live in this faith. They live not as pagans, but as Christians; they have presbyters of their own, they embrace the literacy, they know their God and their law. ...When they are getting ready to sail they pray, saying that they are on their way to fight for the Christian faith against the unbelievers. Second [issue] — is the liberation of captives by the Cossacks. ...They are building new churches and monasteries, repair and decorate them. And if they remember their faith and prayer in the desolate places, which is known, then they pay even more tribute to [Christianity] when they return to the populated lands, where they have fathers, brothers, and relatives among the clergy. *Then it is a known fact that nobody else under the stars and in God's name pays such a great service to oppressed Christianity as the Greeks with their ransoms, the king of Spain with his mighty Armada and the Cossacks (Viis'ko Zaporoz'ke)— with their bravery and military victories....*" See Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Istoria ukrains'koi literatury* [The history of Ukrainian literature], vol. 6 (Kyiv: Inst. Literatury NAN Ukrainy, 1995), pp. 218-220.

[8] S. v. "Hetman state or Hetmanate (Hetmanshchyna)," by Lev Okinshevych and Alexander Zhukovsky in Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 2 (Toronto; Buffalo; London: U of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 145 - 147.

[9] The Cossack Host of the Lower Dnipro (*Viis'ko Zaporoz'ke nizhove*) was the original base of this rebellion. Its main encampment and administrative center was known as *Zaporoz'ka Sich*. Reference is made to S. v. "Zaporizhzhia," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, pp. 812 - 814.

This control strengthened considerably over the next century, resulting in the eventual liquidation of the Cossack state (1764) and the Cossack Host of Zaporozhzhia (1775).

After the dissolution of their military formations, many Ukrainian Cossacks continued serving in new formations, created in the Russian, Austrian and Ottoman empires. For example, Cossacks of "old Zaporozhzha" served in three out of five Cossack hosts, created by the Russian government in the wake of the Second Russo-Turkish War (1787-1791). Cossacks also served during the Russo-Turkish wars of 1806-1812 and 1828-1829. The last Cossack Host on Ukrainian land, — the Cossack Host of Azov, — was liquidated in 1866.[10] Despite the loss of their military status, many of the people continued to consider themselves "Cossacks."

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[10] Olena Bachyns'ka, et. al. *Kozatstvo na pivdni Ukrainy: kinets' XVIII-XIX st.* [Cossacks of Southern Ukraine: end of the 18th–19th centuries] (Odessa: Druk, 2000).

1.2 Cossacks as a distinct group

At this point I focus my attention upon the Cossacks as a separate group with a distinct political, social and cultural role within the broader context of Ukrainian society.

The core of the Cossack organization in the 15th and 16th centuries constituted of petty gentry— professional warriors in their own right, who served as officers in Cossack units. At the same time, many of their subordinates were people whose previous life did not involve military service: former burghers, servants, and relatively few peasants. Later on, in the 17th and 18th centuries, most Cossack novices were peasants, escaping from their landlords due to intolerable conditions of serfdom.[11]

The members of various strata joined the Cossack ranks under one main provision— to serve as military on permanent basis. By joining the Cossacks, people were separating from their previous lifestyle.[12] This process took various forms. It meant separation from the people's homes, family, every-day life routine, and their old social status. Cossacks formed a society with its original military system, hierarchy, legal system, economics and culture. Their culture was in part characterized by unique lore which reflected the peoples' new life as Cossacks.

In his work *Tri glavy iz istoricheskoi poetiki* [Three chapters from historical poetics] (1899), Russian literary scholar and folklorist Aleksandr Veselovskii describes how new layers of oral lore grow on the basis of older layers in a particular culture.[13] According to this theory, called the "theory of group separation," folklore is adjusted to the cultural environment, in which it is expressed. Thus, the lore of agricultural societies reflects that occupation, the lore of military communities is attuned to military values and so forth. Consequently, when a military culture develops from an agricultural society, it starts to create folklore that reflects its lifestyle, views and moods.[14]

This concept resonates with the "centrality of culture" principle, briefly presented in the Introduction,[15]as well as with the earlier discussion on the social implications of the separation of the Cossacks from their old social groups. I view this "separation" process, in part, as creation: creation of a new social group and folklore about it.[16]

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[11] *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 7, 1999, pp. 14, 32, 38, 49; Vitalii Shcherbak, *Ukrains'ke kozatstvo: formuvannia sotsial'noho stanu (druha polovyna 15–seredyna 17 st.)* [Ukrainian Cossacks: formation of the social stratum] (Kyiv: KM Academia, 2000), pp. 46 – 49; S. v. "Zaporizhzhia," by Borys Krupnytsky and Alexander Zhukovsky in Danylo Husar Struk, ed. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5 (Toronto; Buffalo; London: U of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 812.

[12] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 192.

[13] Aleksandr Veselovskii, *Istoricheskaia poetika* [Historical poetics] (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), pp. 167-180, 187-189 passim

[14] Ibid.

[15] William R. Bascom, "Four Functions of Folklore," *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1965), pp. 279-298.

The "Cossack cycle of Ukrainian folklore" includes oral lore about Cossacks, i.e. oral lore, in which Cossacks are the main characters. *Dumy* represent an excellent example of a new genre that reflected the new cultural milieu of the Cossacks. Some of the folklore about Cossacks was produced by Cossacks themselves, while other texts were composed and/or performed by non-Cossack Ukrainians. The following discussion is an overview of the "Cossack cycle" and its connection to Ukrainian folklore in general.

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[16] Elliott Oring, *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres. An Introduction* (Logan: Utah State UP, 1986), p. 1; Alan Dundes, "What is Folklore?" *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 2-3; S. v. "Folk group," by Hasan El-Shamy in *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art*, ed. Thomas A. Green, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara; Denver; Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1997), pp. 318-322 (on page 318). Also, Marisa Zavalloni uses the term "identity group," which makes identity system, rather than ethnicity, religion, sex, occupation and other separate elements, a primary focus in her studies of "the folk." See Marisa Zavalloni, "Social Identity: Perspectives and Prospects," *Social Science Information* 12 (3), 1973: 66, 82.

1.3 The "Cossack cycle" within Ukrainian folklore: the dynamics of relations

On the most basic level the "Cossack cycle" is a continuation of the older folkloric tradition, a stage in development of Ukrainian folklore and its integral part. This subchapter deals with chronological, thematic and other aspects of this problem and addresses the issues relations with other folklore cycles.

a. Cossack lore as part of Ukrainian folklore

Folklore related to the "Cossack cycle" is mainly about military life though it may discuss other topics as well. It grew out of the centuries-long poetic tradition in that territory. The principle change occurred due to the emergence of a new hero— the "Cossack," who replaced the "prince," "*boyar*" and "knight"— the protagonists in folklore about Kyivan Rus' times.

According to Mykhailo Hrushevsky, in the military folk poetry about Kyivan Rus', one can find a rich combination of heroic, every-day life and lyrical motifs which portray the perfect hero. Hrushevsky mentions the following: 1) a hero assembles his comrades/servants; 2) a hero possesses a marvelous horse; 3) a hero hunts on a miraculous beast; 4) a hero wages war against the enemy, conquers lands and acquires great riches; 5) a hero refuses riches and takes a "beautiful noble maiden" as ransom.[17]

Closely related motifs were employed later on in the folklore about Ukrainian Cossacks and, later again, in the folklore about soldiers. For example, some of the older motifs about the Kyivan Rus' professional military (the knights), became incorporated into Cossack lore. Hrushevsky discusses a legend about Prince Volodymyr, a knight named Mykhailyk and the Kyivan Golden Gates, and finds similarities between these and the heroes of the later age— Cossack Colonel Semen Palii and Cossack Ivan Konovchenko.[18] In one account, Konovchenko, asking his commander permission to fight a Tatar in a duel, repeats the words of Mykhailyk from the old legend almost exactly:

My lord, czar Volodymyr!
If you take a little duckling,
And let it swim in the blue sea,
Then it will swim as swiftly as a mature duck.

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[17] Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury* [The history of Ukrainian literature], vol. 1 (New York: Knyhospilka, 1959), pp. 224-231.

[18] *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, vol. 4, 1960, pp. 259-260; Kulish, pp. 3-5; *Malorossiiskiia predaniia*, p. 199.

> (A Legend about the Golden Gates)
>
> [My] Colonel of Korsun, sir Fylon,
> Go to the river and catch a mature duck and a duckling,
> And let them swim in the river — the mature duck will swim as
> [Swiftly] as the duckling.
> (*Duma* about Ivan Konovchenko)[19]

In another account, Palii announces his presence to the enemies by shooting at them in a fashion which resembles Mykhailyk's shooting at the Tatar horde:

> In the times of trouble the Tatars came…and began to approach Kyiv. And there was a knight called Mykhailyk who entered the tower and shot an arrow which fell into the Tatar chieftain's bowl… "O, I see," The Tatar's chieftain said, "You have a strong knight among you. Hand him to me and I shall leave your lands…"
> (A Legend about the Golden Gates)
>
> …Palii rode out and surrounded Mazepa's army with the banners… And the accursed Mazepa was sitting and… drinking tea… Palii saw that and loosed an arrow which hit the teacup from which Mazepa was drinking… (Palii, Mazepa and the Tatar Horde)[20]

The connections between Ukrainian legends of the Princely times and the "Cossack era" show that certain legends about the Cossacks were developed within the framework of a larger Ukrainian oral tradition. In Chapter 4 of this dissertation I shall discuss in more detail how the portrayal of popular folk hero, Colonel Semen Palii, reflects the norms of ancient Rus' folklore, depicting the hero's supernatural qualities and religious zeal.

In Ukrainian folk poetry, besides the songs about Cossacks, there are cycles, known as "recruit and soldier songs" (*rekruts'ki ta soldats'ki pisni*), "wandering traders' songs" (*chumats'ki pisni*) and other songs, which describe affiliation, occupation, behavior, specific to a certain social status

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[19] *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, vol. 4, 1960, p. 265.

[20] Kulish, pp. 3-5; *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy*, pp. 201-204; *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, vol. 4, 1960, p. 260.

(*stanovi pisni*).[21] The process of the development of those cycles was similar to the development of the "Cossack cycle": 1) texts from those cycles featured members of a particular group as their main characters; 2) storylines were inspired by distinct lifestyle of those groups.

According to Ukrainian folklorists Oleksii Dei and Oleksandr Pravdiuk, songs that portray Cossacks as the main heroes are closely connected to the songs of the so-called *rekruts'ki pisni.*[22] Those songs are related to the "military cycle" of Ukrainian folklore and explore the topics of service, departure, anticipation of a loved one's return in a number of variations. Those features also place the songs of the military cycle close to Ukrainian historical songs and folk ballads. "It is also known," — Dei continues — "that the wandering lifestyle of *chumaky* is generally similar to the lifestyle of the Cossacks, in respect to the time spent far away from home and family. However, the life of *chumaky* at home is closer to that of peasants."[23] In fact, many of the *chumats'ki pisni* were replications of existing folk texts from the "Cossack" and "peasant" cycles. The creators and performers simply substituted the status characteristics of the main heroes from "Cossack," "lad," "shepherd" and "peasant" to *chumak*, thus establishing a new song for the *chumatski pisni* cycle.[24]

In the corpus of *chumats'ki pisni* there is a song "The *Chumak* is Coming from the Don" [Ta ikhav chumak iz Donu], collected in the 19th century. It is illustrative of how the substitution of a main hero in folk poetry occurred. The majority of the variants of this song name *chumak* as the main character:

> The *chumak* was coming from the [region of] Don,
> Hey from the Don he was coming to his home,
> Hey from the Don he was coming to his home,
> And he sat over the waters of the river.
> Upon sitting over the water he came to curse his fate…[25]

However, in one of the variants of this song, instead of *chumak* it reads "Cossack": "The Cossack was coming from the Don, hey from the Don he was coming to his home…"[26] Taking into account the lifestyle of the

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[21] Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Novi ukrains'ki pisni pro hromads'ki spravy (1764-1880)* [New Ukrainian songs about the social life] (Geneva: H. George Libraire Editeur, 1881); Oleksa Iushchenko, *Pisni i pratsia* [The songs and the labor] (Kyiv: Znannia, 1964).

[22] *Ukrains'ka narodna tvorchist'. Rekruts'ki ta soldats'ki pisni* [The recruit and soldier songs] (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1974), pp. 5-7.

[23] Ibid., pp. 5-8.

[24] *Chumats'ki pisni*, p. 8.

[25] Ibid., pp. 354-357.

[26] Ibid., p. 358.

Cossacks and traders, characterized by frequent and lengthy leaves from home, and their contacts with the Don region, it did not require the singer to make any extensive changes in this text— all it took was to replace the hero's social status with another, thereby preserving the entire plot. This substitution could also have been conditioned by the linguistic similarity of both words and could have been motivated by the audience, including the collector.

In another 19th century song a Cossack is portrayed as a *chumak*— a man who abandons a calm family life in the village in favor of wandering and drinking, bringing economic ruin onto his household:

> The Cossack is wandering the Cossack is roaming the land,
> He has drunk the entire value of his gray oxen and black cows
> And does not show up at his house...[27]

Folklore of the "Cossack cycle" involves themes and motifs similar to those from folklore texts of other cycles of Ukrainian folklore. This indicates a clear connection between the "Cossack cycle" and older and later folklore cycles. However, there are other aspects of relations between them that are more obscure and require additional analysis.

b. Cossack lore within Ukrainian folklore: understanding the dynamics

As it has been pointed out in the previous section, chronologically and thematically the "Cossack cycle" was a continuation of development of Ukrainian folklore. At the same time, in order to fully understand the dynamics in relations between the folklore of the "Cossack cycle" and Ukrainian folklore in general, I propose to look at three intertwined concepts: the aforementioned "separation," "co-existence" and "re-integration."

Ukrainian folklorist Filiaret Kolessa applies Veselovskii's model of separation to Ukrainian folklore and chooses two examples he considers the most characteristic: the "chivalric poetry" of ancient Kyivan Rus' and Cossack poetry.[28]

Among the major implications of separation of the "Cossack cycle" was a creation of a unique genre of Ukrainian folklore— *dumy*, developed in close connection with the Cossacks. Almost every known *duma* has a Cossack as its hero and refers to the events of Cossack life and their struggle against the enemies.[29] Kolessa states: "*Dumy* are Cossack epics which grew on the basis of Cossack military life."[30]

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[27] *Chumats'ki pisni*, p. 447.

[28] Filiaret Kolessa, *Ukrains'ka usna slovesnist'* [Ukrainian oral literature], intro. Mikuláš Mušinka (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies; University of Alberta, 1983), p. 118.

Chronologically, *dumy* can be divided into "earlier" and "later" cycles. The earlier *duma* cycle is predominantly focused upon the heroic military struggle of the Cossacks against their enemies. Many texts of this cycle reflect Sarnicki's 16th century definition of *dumy* as "laments" over the tragic moments in the life of the Cossacks, symbolized by motifs of captivity and death at the hands of the enemy:[31]

> On the holy day of Sunday, it wasn't the gray eagles screaming,
> But the poor captives weeping in bitter slavery,
> Raising their arms, shaking their chains,
> Beginning and imploring merciful Lord:
> "Send us, O Lord, a fine rain from the sky
> And wild wind from the Dnieper steppe!
> Maybe a swift wave will rise on the Black Sea,
> Maybe it will break the Turkish galley loose from its anchor!
> Oh, we have had enough of this accursed Turkish slavery…"
> (*Duma* about the Lament of the Captives)[32]
>
> By the river Samarka,
> By the Saltanka well,
> The whole steppe was raging with fire.
> Only two small thorn thickets, two green ravines,
> Were not burning.
> For there, near them, three brothers were lying,
> Shot,
> Slashed,
> Weak with mortal wounds… (*Duma* about the
> Three Brothers of Samarka)[33]

In other *dumy* of the earlier cycle, one can find images of Cossack successes in battle:

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[29] See Filiaret Kolessa's *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy: pershe povne vydannia iz rozvidkoiu, poiasnenniamy, notamy i znimkamy kobzariv* (1920) and Kateryna Hrushevska's *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy* (1927-1931).

[30] *Ukrains'ka usna slovesnist'*, p. 81.

[31] Ibid.

[32] *Ukrainian Dumy*, trans. George Tarnawsky, et. al., intro. Natalie Kononenko Moyle (Toronto; Cambridge: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1979), p. 23.

[33] Ibid., p. 93.

> ...Your Cossacks are camping on the Circassian mountain...
> They plundered the Moslem cities,
> They waged war with fire and sword,
> They seized plenty of silver and gold,
> They journeyed to the river of Khortytsia...
> In the ancient Sich they hurried,
> In the ancient Sich they sat down in a circle,
> They divided the silver and the Turkish treasure into three parts,
> They drank mead and fine liquor,
> They prayed to the Lord for the whole world... (*Duma* about
> a Conversation Between the Dnieper and the Danube)[34]

Several existing topics were further developed in *duma* texts: praise of bravery, comradeship, laments about the precarious nature of war, death, imprisonment and departure.

My next objective is to discuss the "co-existence" and "re-integration" of the "Cossack cycle" and other cycles/genres of Ukrainian folklore. For centuries the Cossacks co-existed with the non-Cossacks and the folklore by the Cossacks co-existed with the folklore of other groups: the peasant agricultural lore, the lore of townsfolk, the lore of *chumaky* (wandering traders) and so forth. This co-existence could hardly be possible without interaction, which continually influenced the "Cossack cycle" as well as the other cycles of Ukrainian folklore. As Cossacks became increasingly prominent in Ukrainian social and political life, folklore about them became increasingly significant and popular. New tale types and motifs continuously became added to the lore about Cossacks.

Co-existence, strictly speaking, did not necessarily come as a later stage in the development of the "Cossack cycle." It may have occurred simultaneously with separation of the "Cossack cycle" and Ukrainian folklore in general. In fact, the dynamics of those processes can be established only in relation to a concrete text.

The re-integration of the "Cossack cycle" into Ukrainian folklore, like the above-discussed separation and co-existence, represents more of a theoretical construct than an actual process. It refers to the borrowing of the Cossack themes, types and motifs in the other cycles of Ukrainian folklore. Similar to co-existence, re-integration cannot be dated accurately: in some cases, this process may have occurred immediately after the introduction of certain Cossack themes/types/motifs, and in some cases, the borrowing may have occurred generations later.

The co-existence and re-integration of the "Cossack cycle" into Ukrainian folklore coincided with the ongoing process of schematizing the historical Cossacks, who became increasingly overshadowed by their stereotyped folklore images: lovers, faithful brethren, tricksters, sorcerers and wandering people. For instance, while quoting the works of Oleksandr Potebnia and Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Kolessa notes in Ukrainian folk songs the word "Cossack," besides meaning "military person," more often means "lover," a "hero of intimate lyrics."[35] The images of the Cossacks were turning into symbols, which became more and more interchangeable. A person could be described as a "Cossack" for demonstrating certain "typical" patterns of behavior.

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[34] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 77.

Here are a few examples, which illustrate the dynamics of co-existence and re-integration between the Cossack and non-Cossack cycles of Ukrainian folklore.

Dumy of the later cycle, unlike the earlier texts, show clear signs of co-existing and re-integrating with the non-Cossack folklore. They contain fewer heroic motifs, but rather focus on everyday-life motifs with a strong accent on moralization, resonating with typical agendas for both Cossack and non-Cossack groups.[36] These *dumy* bear a closer resemblance to "non-Cossack" folklore in terms of their types and motifs. In some cases, such as the *duma Kozats'ke zhyttia* [The Cossack life], the author was most likely not a Cossack himself. Thus, we have a text about Cossacks, composed by a non-Cossack. It draws a picture of a ruined Cossack household— the result of the Cossack's absence due to his military duties:

Oh, it is easy to recognize a Cossack's house,
Even among ten houses—
It is not thatched with straw,
It does not have a clay stoop around it,
There is not a stick of wood in the shed.
And in this house there sits a Cossack's wife,
Oh, it is easy to recognize a Cossack's wife—
She walks around barefoot even in winter,
She has to carry water in a pot,
And ladle it out to the children instead of soup…[37]

As Dei and Pravdiuk suggest, this description of a bad master, whose frequent absences and lack of care brought economic ruin to his household, most likely resonated with life of other social groups such as peasants and *chumaky*.

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[35] *Ukrains'ka usna slovesnist'*, p. 91.

[36] Ibid., pp. 83-84. These *dumy* include: *Kozats'ke zhyttia* [The Cossack life], *Bidna udova i try syna* [The poor widow and her three sons], *Sestra i brat* [A brother and a sister], *Proshchannia kozaka z rodynoiu* [Cossack's farewell to the family].

[37] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 11.

In respect to the relations between the "Cossack" and the "recruit" folklore cycles, there is a 19th century song, which not only shows the co-existence of two images (a Cossacks and a recruit) in one song, but also draws a clear distinction between them:

Poplar grows over the river, leaning towards the water,
Cossack is sitting in the saddle, sadness in his heart.
Poplar, stop leaning towards the water,
You are still covered with green leaves.
Cheer up, you Cossack, for you are still young.
Poplar wouldn't be leaning, but water washes off its roots,
Cossack would cheer up, but his heart aches with trouble.
So [they] drafted, drafted the Cossack in the army,
And drafting him placed him in chains…[38]

The "Cossack" and the "recruit" belong to military groups, and in this respect they are the same. However, from the perspective of personal freedom, the status of the Cossack is very different from the status of the recruit, who enters the military service in chains.

Changes in social status, organization and other areas affect the worldview of the people and their lore. From the historical, sociological and folkloristic perspectives, this can be explained through the formation of the military Cossack group from other groups of Ukrainian society and the creation of the "Cossack lore" within Ukrainian folklore.

The formation of the Cossacks and development of original Cossack lore did not take place in a vacuum: just as the Cossacks could not exist and develop without contacting other strata of Ukrainian society the Cossack lore could not exist and develop without being connected to the rest of Ukrainian folklore.

The "Cossack cycle" of Ukrainian folklore represented a separate cycle with its original genres, themes, types and motifs. Employed initially by the Cossacks themselves, those themes, types and motifs were later exploited by the members of other strata of Ukrainian society, who were taking interest in the Cossacks. In fact, the main bulk of folklore about Cossacks was recorded in the 19th century when the last members of this once powerful and numerous group were dying out or mixing with peasants and townsfolk. Therefore, the available accounts about the Cossacks by and large reflect the views of the peasant audience on what Cossack life must have been like. This is true for the folk poetry about the Cossacks and this is equally true for the folk prose, particularly legends, which are the subject of this dissertation.

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[38] *Rekruts'ki ta soldats'ki pisni*, p. 87.

CHAPTER 2: COSSACK MOTIFS IN FOLK POETRY

A review of folk poetry is essential for understanding how Cossacks are treated in Ukrainian folklore. In this chapter I first discuss the Cossack "warrior-lover" stereotype in lyrical poetry, and then describe the representation of Cossacks in historical poetry, which includes mentioning of specific individuals and events. Previous studies of Cossack motifs in Ukrainian folklore have mostly focused on songs and *dumy*, so they provide useful information here.

Early folklorists traditionally viewed songs as true embodiments of the people's spirit. This was especially true for Tsertelev and later Ukrainian romantics. By the mid-1800s, thousands of Ukrainian songs had been collected with numerous variants, while relatively few prose texts were recorded.[1] Many of those songs dealt with Ukrainian Cossacks. These songs include lyrical, historical, calendar and everyday-life songs (*pobutovi pisni*) and ballads. The epic recitations — *dumy* — are also important. They resemble poetry more than prose. V. Antonovych and M. Drahomanov noted that song collections from the early 1800s focused primarily on lyrical and historical songs and *dumy*.[2] I will talk about the representation of Cossacks in lyrical songs and ballads first, continuing with a discussion of their representation in *dumy* and historical songs.

2.1 Lyrical songs and ballads

In lyrical songs, the main theme usually deals with the intimate feelings of the characters. The main themes and motifs of those songs include love (unrequited, tragic or happy), betrayal (by the loved or trusted one), sorrow (over the parting with the loved one(s)), departure (to war, to a far land) and death. Songs provoke an emotional response from the participants, and reflection on peoples' lives. Lyricism is also present in other poetic genres, particularly in the ballads.

Ballads are lyrical songs which portray miraculous events and certain real life situations associated with intimate feelings and personal or family matters. Among the most popular ballad motifs are those of tragic love, death, betrayal and faithfulness. Ballads typically involve didactic and fantastic elements. Unlike many other lyrical songs, they have a strong narrative element. Occasionally, ballads may refer to historical events and personalities.

Ballad characters are portrayed in a highly stylized way: the plot usually involves a young man and a maiden; less often— the main character, his (her) parents, friends, and animals. The settings are typically generalized: a peaceful picture of village life, an idyllic scene of a romantic encounter, a scene of mental and physical suffering during war.[3] In some cases, lyrical songs and ballads make certain reference to specific historical events or people, thus merging with *dumy* and historical songs.

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[1] See Chapter 1.

[2] Vladimir Antonovich and Mikhail Dragomanov, *Istoricheskiia pesni malorusskago naroda* [The historical songs of the Little Rus' people], vol. 1 (Kiev: M. P. Fritz, 1874), i.

In his work on Ukrainian oral literature, Filiaret Kolessa describes some of the motifs found in ballads and lyrical songs about the Cossacks. Among those types and motifs are "a Cossack and his horse as brothers," "Cossacks leaving for war," and "a Cossack's departure causes sorrow and death of a loved one."[4]

In the preceding chapter, I presented the ballad "Three Summers and Three Weeks," in which a Cossack dies on a battlefield and his horse delivers a grim message to the family ("horse as the messenger" motif). Similar motifs are found in other Ukrainian ballads as well, like the one where a young recruit drowns, but before his death he asks his horse to go and tell his family that their son and brother "got married to calm water."[5]

In the ballad *Povernuvsia kozak z pokhodu dodomu* [The return of a Cossack from the war], the main character is portrayed as an untrusting person. He is riding home and takes a rest under the poplar tree. A snake crawls over to him and whispers in his ear:

...Your wife broke her promise,
And has found a different sweetheart.
The Cossack wakes up, draws his saber,
Enters his house walking softly,
There his wife is sleeping on the white linens,
And is dreaming of her sweetheart,
Who is fighting in the war.
The saber swished up and down—
Her head rolled to the ground...
Neighbors gathered to that house in the dawn,
To tell the Cossack about the snake's plot:
—You trusted the evil snake,
And will never find such a sweetheart again,
Who was waiting for your return from the war,
And was holding only you in her heart.[6]

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[3] *Balady* [Ballads], ed. D. V. Pavlychko, et. al. (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1987), pp. 425-430.

[4] Filiaret Kolessa, *Ukrains'ka usna slovesnist'* [Ukrainian oral literature], intro. Mikuláš Mušinka (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies; University of Alberta, 1983), pp. 90-91.

[5] Kolessa, pp. 471-472.

[6] *Balady*, p. 170.

In this text, the terrible tragedy is followed by a coda which explicitly calls on the audience not to trust false accusations coming from evil persons. The motifs "prophetic dream," "betrayal by a snake," "an untrusting Cossack" and "a Cossack as a victim of trickery" are found in other ballads as well. In other texts "the snake" is replaced with the evil mother, who accuses her son's wife of being unfaithful to him.[7]

In the ballad *Chy budesh ty, divchynon'ko, za mnoiu tuzhyty* [Will you, o maiden, miss me], a Cossack is portrayed as beloved and faithful, but also as the one who causes sorrow and death. He leaves his sweetheart and goes to war asking her whether she will miss him or not:

> Will you, o maiden, miss me
> When I mount my horse and ride to the army?
> —No, I shall not, o Cossack, I shall not miss you,
> I shall forget you as soon as hills hide you from my sight.
> As soon as the Cossack rode through the new gates,
> The maiden experienced great sorrow…[8]

Saddened by the Cossack's departure, the girl falls sick. Notified of his sweetheart's sickness, the Cossack rides home, but he arrives too late to console her:

> …The Cossack did not make it to the steep mountain,
> When the bells started ringing for the girl's soul.
> When the Cossack rode to the house, made of the yew trees,
> The girl ['s grave] was being filled with earth.[9]

In this text, the main motifs are the departure of two people in love and the tragic outcome of them being separated ("departure as a cause of death"). The departing lover is called "a Cossack," and indeed, he is leaving for the military service. In this ballad, the Cossack emerges not as a heroic figure, but as a faithful and loving person who is torn from a loved one by his duties, and also as the unintentional cause of the girl's death. As it is with numerous other ballads, the hopes of the heroes are compromised by the harsh realities of life. Listeners of the ballad are warned not to leave their loved ones behind.

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[7] Kolessa, pp. 90-91, 108-109.

[8] *Balady*, p. 34.

[9] Ibid., p. 35.

In lyrical songs and ballads, “a Cossack” is a character whose features include military status, frequent and lengthy absences from home, “victim-revenant” role in family conflicts and victim in war. Ballads and lyrical songs do not tell us about the origins of the Cossacks or any specifics about their military life, except perhaps for their typical departure from home and the circumstances of their death. The emphasis in these texts is on feelings rather than on facts and their interpretation. In ballads and lyrical songs, characters are treated as generic members of a certain group, rather than concrete individuals. They are rarely named. The representation of Cossacks in these genres does not differ significantly from the representation of any other military people, such as knights, recruits and soldiers. Eventually, any adventurous and amorous people in Ukrainian folk texts could be identified as “Cossacks.”[10]

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[10] Kolessa, p. 91.

2.2 Cossacks in historical songs and *dumy*

Historical songs and *dumy* in the Cossack cycle contain lyrical motifs but also present concrete deeds and specific historical periods. According to folklorist Natalie Kononenko, historical songs, *dumy* and religious songs all "tell of events that both the singer and the audience believed really happened."[11] However, there are also certain differences among those genres. While historical songs tell of the events that are important on a personal/national level, religious songs "function on a cosmic scale."[12] *Dumy* are different from the historical songs in form and usually deal with fewer topics than do historical songs.[13]

Antonovych and Drahomanov divide the corpus of historical songs and *dumy* about Cossacks into five major groups. The first group includes those that describe Cossack battles against the Turks and the Tatars. For instance, *Duma pro rozmovu mizh Dniprom ta Dunaem* [Duma about a conversation between the Dnieper and the Danube] shows Cossacks fighting Turks and dividing the abundant proceeds from their victory.[14] Other texts in this group deal with the captivity and death of the Cossack characters.[15]

The second group contains texts about the Cossack wars against the Poles. In the *Duma pro peremohu pid Korsunem* [Duma about the battle of Korsun], we find a following description of the Cossacks' victory over the Polish army:

> …The Cossacks and the Poles had a big fight…
> The Poles finally got wise,
> They started fleeing from the Cossacks…
> Then the Cossacks caught up with the Poles,
> They caught Pan Potocki,
> They trussed him up like a ram,
> They took him on horseback to Hetman Khmelnytsky…[16]

The third group follows the events after the death of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1657), the defeat of Hetman Ivan Mazepa and the destruction of the "old Sich" (1709). For instance, in the *Duma pro*

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[11] Natalie Kononenko, *Ukrainian Minstrels: And the Blind Shall Sing* (Armonk, New York; London, England: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), p. 21.

[12] Ibid.

[13] *Ukrainian Minstrels*, pp. 21-23.

[14] *Ukrainian Dumy*, trans. George Tarnawsky, et. al., intro. Natalie Kononenko Moyle (Toronto; Cambridge: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1979), p. 77. Also see Chapter 1.

[15] See Chapter 1.

[16] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 157.

Khmelnytskoho Bohdana smert', pro Ievrasia Khmelnytskoho ta Pavla Teterenka [Duma about the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, about young Ievras Khmelnytsky and Pavlo Teterenko], the old Hetman talks to his Cossacks on his deathbed, asking them to elect a new leader: "...O Cossacks, my children, my comrades. I ask you, take great care, elect a hetman to rule over you..."[17] The Cossacks ask Bohdan Khmelnytsky for his advice, but when he suggests that they elect Ivan Luhovsky (Vyhovsky), Cossacks disagree, saying that "[Luhovsky] will treat us Cossacks like dirt..." The Cossacks also turned down the candidacy of Teterenko (Teteria) and asked for old Khmelntysky's son to be elected Hetman.[18] Like many other texts about this historical period, this *duma* reveals signs of unrest in Cossack lands after the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and points at power struggle among his successors.

Songs and *dumy* in the fourth group deal with the liquidation of the Cossack order and about the descendants of the Cossacks. Texts from this group often depict the decline of the Cossack group as opposed to its former glory. In the song *Oi, za richkoiu ta j za Syniukhoiu* [Hey, beyond the river, the river Syniukha], the Cossacks ask the Russian Tsarina for a reward, but receive chains and hard labor instead:

Hey, beyond the river, the river of Syniukha,
Blackberries has grown,
"Hey, give us, o father, changes,
Or we shall all perish!"
"Hey, this is not up to me,
Glorious Zaporozhians, to give you changes,
Hey, you go, glorious Zaporozhians, to Tsarina,
And ask her for a reward."
Hey, Tsarina gave glorious Zaporozhians their reward.
She had them placed in chains by their feet and
Gave them all shovels [to dig trenches]...[19]

Texts in the fifth group deal with other Cossack affairs without providing any chronological background, with *duma Kozats'ke zhyttia* serving as an example (see Chapter 1).[20]

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[17] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 187.

[18] Ibid.

[19] *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni*, p. 165.

[20] Also see *Istoricheskiia pesni malorusskago naroda*, vi-vii; Mikhail Dragomanov, *Chansons politiques du peuple Ukrainien XVIII-XIX ss.* [The political songs of Ukrainian people 18th-19th centuries], part 1, Textes annotés par M. Dragomanov (Geneva: Hromada, 1883), I-II; Boris Grinchenko, *Etnograficheskie materialy* [Ethnographic materials], vol. 3 (Chernigov: Tip. Gubernskago zemstva, 1899), p. 582 passim, etc.

Though historical songs and *dumy* are less numerous than lyrical, everyday-life songs and ballads, they still account for hundreds of texts and variants, making them an invaluable source for studying the portrayal of Cossacks in Ukrainian folklore. They contain many themes and motifs.

The themes of suffering, martyrdom and death are very popular in historical songs and *dumy* about Ukrainian Cossacks. In many of the texts, heroes lie dying on the battlefield with their bodies cut so deep so that "blood gushes from them with each heartbeat, revealing the yellow bone underneath."[21] They suffer their agony alone, and no one consoles them or brings them even a drop of water.

In the *Duma pro Khvedora Bezridnoho* [Duma about Khvedir without kin], we find the following description of a Cossack, dying on the battlefield:

> It was for a great cause, the Tsar's cause,
> That many Cossacks had fallen, had been cut down by the sword,
> And that not a single Cossack had been left alive.
> There lay among the bodies only Khvedir, the Luckless,
> Slashed and stabbed, weak with mortal wounds…[22]

A similar description of a Cossack with fatal wounds appears in the *Duma pro tr'okh brativ samars'kykh* [Three brothers of Samara] and historical songs, such as *Oi, vyidu ia na mohylu (Pisnia pro Mykhaia)* [Hey, I shall walk on the burial mound (A song about Mykhai)].[23]

Cossacks not only die on the battlefield, but also suffer in captivity at the hands of their enemy. The Cossack Chieftain Baida is captured by the Turks and tortured for defying the Sultan:

> …Take Baida firmly in your hands,
> Take Baida and tie him up,
> And hang him on the hook by his rib cage![24]

According to Kononenko, there are many similarities between the suffering of Cossack heroes (the above-mentioned Baida or Morozenko, whose beating heart is removed by the Tatars) and the saints in the religious songs (e.g., St. Varvara). In such songs and *dumy*, the "heroes are heroic because they die in gruesome ways."[25]

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[21] *Ukrainian Minstrels*, p. 160.

[22] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 123.

[23] *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni* [Ukrainian folk epic recitations and historical songs], ed. M. T. Ryl's'kyi, et. al. (Kyiv: AN URSR, 1955), pp. 10, 32-33.

[24] *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni*, pp. 16-17.

A different sort of agony, — Kononenko continues, — is described in the various *dumy* about Turkish captivity, where "there is no death in sight and no hope that the torment will end."[26] Cossacks are kept with shackles on their hands and feet. They are beaten with whips until their flesh is "cut to the yellow bone."[27] Once again Cossacks are portrayed as heroes, who bravely endure their suffering.

In the *Duma pro vtechu tr'okh brativ z Azova* [*Duma* about the escape of three brothers from Azov], one of the brothers suffers both physically and psychologically after being rejected by his own kin.[28]

As for the *dumy* about everyday life, Kononenko views them as "panegyrics to physical torment and psychological anguish."[29] *Duma pro vdovu i tr'okh syniv* [*Duma* about the widow and her three sons] depicts the suffering of a woman who brought up three sons but is chased away by her ungrateful children. God strikes them with misfortune and they beg their mother to return home. In most variants, she dies after refusing to do so. All in all, this *duma* ends with "an admonition about the power of a mother's prayers to ensure salvation or bring on damnation":

> He who respects and honors his elderly mother,
> Him God helps,
> Him God sends luck and good fortune…[30]

Duma "The Cossack life," which I have briefly discussed in the preceding chapter, is focused upon the suffering as the result of family problems. After a Cossack rides off to war, his wife faces the impossible task of running the household. She fails and is beaten by her husband after his return. Instead of looking for revenge, she defends him in front of her neighbors who see marks on her face.[31]

Some texts portray Cossacks as pious people, who are willing to sacrifice their life for the sake of their beloved brethren. In the *Duma pro pyriatyns'koho Oleksiia Popovycha* [*Duma* about Oleksii Popovych from Pyriatyn], the Cossack naval expedition is caught up in storm. When the Cossacks are offered an opportunity to confess their sins before God and to pacify the storm, no one speaks up:

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[25] *Ukrainian Minstrels*, p. 161.
[26] Ibid., p. 162.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., pp. 162-163.
[30] Ibid., pp. 163-164.
[31] *Ukrainian Minstrels*, p. 164.

"…Cossacks, my brave lords,
Who among you carries the gravest sin on his soul?
Maybe it is because of him that the whole Cossack fleet is
Drowning!
So, take care, brothers,
Confess your sins to the merciful Lord, to the Black Sea,
To the whole brotherhood,
And to me, the otaman of the Cossack Host!
It is better that one of you drowns in the sea,
Than the whole Zaporozhian Cossack army perish because of
You!"
Then all the Cossacks remained silent,
For none of them felt any sins on his soul.[32]

Oleksii Popovych alone admits his sins and volunteers to be a victim, whose sacrifice will spare the rest of the Cossack army:

"Take great care, brothers,
Take the silken cord from my taught bow,
Tie my Cossack hands behind my back,
Tie a heavy stone to my neck,
Darken my Cossack eyes with black velvet cloth,
And throw me into the Black Sea—
It is better that I drown in the Black Sea
Than the Cossack army perishes because of me!"
… "Although I read the Holy Scriptures,
And teach you, ordinary people, to do the right things,
I have the gravest sins on my soul:
When I was leaving my father and mother, when I was departing
From the city of Pyriatyn to join the volunteer army,
I did not ask forgiveness of my father and mother,
I pushed my father and mother in the chest with my stirrups,
I did not respect my elder brother,
And I cursed my elder sister terribly,
And I also did not act rightly, my lords,
Because I spilled innocent Christian blood—
Riding through the city of Pyriatyn, I ran down small children
With my horse.
This is why the merciful Lord is punishing me in this grave way."[33]

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[32] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 65.

[33] Ibid., p. 67.

The suffering of Oleksii Popovych is almost entirely psychological: the Cossacks do not drown him, but cut his finger and let the blood flow into the sea, at which point the water begins to subside. Faith, morality and readiness to sacrifice one's own life are the most prominent motifs of this *duma*. Popovych speaks to the Cossacks about moral values which were supposed to be shared by all members of the Cossack brotherhood:

> "Happy is the man
> Who respects the prayers of his father and mother.
> The prayers of one's father and mother will save one's soul
> From the bottom of the sea,
> It will redeem one's soul from mortal sins,
> It will bring one before the True Judge…"[34]

Besides emphasizing the Cossacks' religious values, this *duma* draws attention to the importance of retaining ties with the Cossacks' previous lives, and not to forget that they are not only brethren to their comrades-in-arms, but also somebody's sons and brothers. In other words, this text serves as a bridge between a person "before" and "after" joining the Cossacks and between the Cossacks group and the rest of the Ukrainian people.

In the *Duma pro otamana Matiasha staroho* [*Duma* about the elder otaman Matiash], the main character emerges as an old, cautious, far-seeing leader, and as a knight who overwhelms thousands of enemies. Matiash cautions the Cossacks of his detail to take preventative measures in case they are attacked, but is mocked by the overconfident Cossacks. When his twelve younger comrades are assaulted by Turks and taken prisoner, Matiash comes to their rescue:

> ...The old Otaman Matiash mounted his fine horse,
> Routed six thousand Turkish Janissaries,
> He liberated the twelve young Cossacks from the city of Bratslav,
> And then spoke with words:
> "O, you young Cossacks from the city of Bratslav,
> Mount your Cossack horses,
> Come and help me, an old man!"
> Then the Cossacks mounted their horses,
> They routed four thousand godless infidels,
> They captured Turkish gold and silver,

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[34] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 69.

They hurried to the Sich.
In the safety of the Sich,
They divided Turkish gold and silver among themselves,
And they prayed to the Lord for Otaman Matiash:
"Your mother must be a saint in heaven now,
For giving birth to you, a brave Cossack!
You have led us through the wild steppe
And you have not lost even one of us,
Cossacks of Bratslav!"[35]

This *duma* features several important motifs found in other genres of folklore about Ukrainian Cossacks. Matiash is "old and experienced," "wise," "brave" and a "powerful knight." He is an able leader who foresees future trouble, and an unrivaled knight who rushes into battle against a far superior force, achieves victory and delivers his subjects from captivity. There are no Cossack deaths in the text and the young Cossacks' captivity is a mere episode. Thus, in Matiash we have the true embodiment of a heroic Cossack knight. The twelve young Cossacks who disregard advice from their superior illustrate the absence of strict hierarchy (otherwise sometimes seen as a positive characteristic) and a lack of discipline. When liberated by Matiash, these young Cossacks join the battle and overwhelm thousands of enemies. Hence, they are also represented as knights, even if less able and experienced than their chieftain. Upon victory, the Cossacks enjoy rich booty (the "Cossack treasures" motif) and praise the wisdom and bravery of their leader.

Most historical songs and *dumy* deal with unnamed Cossacks or characters whose names are not confirmed by historical sources. Some of the folkloric texts, however, deal with famous (and infamous) historical people, like Cossack leader Baida Vyshnivetsky, Cossack Sava Chalyi, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, his son Iurii, chieftain Ivan Sirko, Cossack Colonel Semen Palii and Hetman Ivan Mazepa.

Colonel Semen Palii and Hetman Ivan Mazepa illustrate "hero"-"anti-hero" relations which occupy an important place in folklore about Ukrainian Cossacks. In the *duma* "Semen Palii and Mazepa," the popular folk hero Semen Palii fights against Hetman Ivan Mazepa and the Swedes:

..."Why is that, my lords,
That there is no order in the Christian land?"
"That is because, my lords,
Pagans began to call Christians brothers."
"Who has started that?

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[35] *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni*, pp. 135-136.

The accursed Mazepa started that,
After he prompted the departure of innocent Iskra and Kocubei
From this world,
And had Semen Palii exiled to Siberia."
Those words were passed among tsars and princes,
Who brought Semen Palii from Siberia to Moscow.
Soon, during the Great Lent and on a nice spring day,
Semen Palii enters the capital of the White Tsar.
The illustrious and pious ruler is extremely exited,
Awaiting the arrival of a great knight Semen Palii as his guest.[36]

Upon learning about the arrival of the "great knight" Semen Palii, Mazepa asks the Swedish King whether to continue besieging Poltava or to withdraw from the city:

...When Mazepa learned
That he, the accursed Mazepa, is in for trouble,
He spoke to Swedish king with the following words:
"King of Sweden, righteous,
My most illustrious lord!
Are we going to capture the city of Poltava,
Or are we going to run away from the city of Poltava?
There is no coincidence that Muscovites began to circle us!
Because Semen Palii,
Even though he has a small volunteer force
Of one hundred,
He will chase a thousand of our [troops]
Chasing and cutting them down..."[37]

Mazepa is wary of Palii and his strength, but fails to convince Charles XII. Instead, the Swedish King attacks the Russian Tsar, killing his soldiers as well as the Ukrainian people:

...In the city of Baturyn,
Men and women were slain and cut down,
Churches were burned, and icons
And sacred things were trampled...[38]

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[36] *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni*, p. 156.
[37] Ibid., pp. 156-157.

At that moment Palii arrives in Poltava and vanquishes Mazepa and Charles:

> …Semen Palii arrives in Poltava,
> Cuts and mows [Swedes] down,
> Throwing them aside like straws…[39]

In this *duma*, the sympathies of the performer are clearly with Semen Palii, who is fighting against Mazepa and is serving the Russian Tsar. Palii is portrayed as a great knight exiled by his enemy, and a defender of the Christian faith and Christian people. Mazepa serves the "pagans" who ruin churches and slay Christians. As we will see in Chapter 4, many of these motifs are found in the legends about Palii and Mazepa as well.

In summary, unlike lyrical poetry, historical songs and *dumy* sometimes focus on real historical events, concrete Cossack personalities and actions. They present specifics of their military and civil life, provide a sense of political, social and economic life of the period. These genres tend to present schematized, stereotypical characters, though they also sometimes deal with concrete historical figures. These characters are shown not only as members of their social group, but also as actual individuals. The representations of Cossacks in historical songs and *dumy* can be quite complex.

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[38] *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni*, p. 157. In fact, Baturyn was sacked by Russian troops of General Alexander Menshikov (1709). In this case we are most likely dealing with folkloric interpretation of an actual event, which replaced Russians with Swedes, blaming the latter for the atrocities.

[39] *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni*, p. 157.

CHAPTER 3: UKRAINIAN COSSACKS IN FOLK PROSE GENRES

This chapter describes several genres to which involve prose texts about Ukrainian Cossacks, focusing mostly on the genre of legend.

The term "folk narrative" "is another word for story," it is "a medium for communicating experience," which "engages the mind and arouses emotions."[1] Folk narratives "circulate primarily in oral tradition and are communicated face-to-face."[2] Folk stories exist in multiple versions because they must be re-created with each telling. As a result of this process of re-creation, each folk narrative reflects both the past and the present; "it crystallizes around contemporary situations and concerns, reflecting current values and attitudes," making "the past... speak in the present." Folk narratives reflect both the individual and the community.[3]

Folklorists have divided "folk narrative" into a host of sub-varieties, and a large set of terminology has been developed: origin myth, Saint's legend, *memorate*, *fabulate*, novella, etiological tale, magic tale, joke jest, animal tale to name a few.[4] These sub-categories of the folk narrative are called "genres." No universally accepted model of folk narrative genres has been developed, but rather different scholars prefer different categories.

Contemporary scholars do not see genres as discrete, fixed, or clear-cut categories based on any one criterion. Instead, they reflect groupings of texts based on various principles: structure, length, context, credibility, dispersion, subject matter, poetics and others. According to Elliott Oring, "terminology often leads to more confusion than clarification, but it also reflects some of the distinctions which folklorists perceived so important."[5] Indeed, specific genre definitions are situational and may reflect the priorities of the folklorist and his/her goals as much as the texts themselves.

Three commonly recognized genres of folk prose are "myth," "legend," and "tale."[6] These genres differ from each other in relation to the attitudes of a given community towards the narrative.[7] In general; "myths" are received as sacred truths to insiders of a culture; "legends" are other true stories; while “tales” are understood as fictitious stories. While the general concepts of myth, legend and tale are quite widespread among folklorists, there is no consensus as to the exact definitions. The differences are sometimes particularly striking in the various national schools, since the related terms have different connotations in different European languages, Furthermore, folklorists differ in how they associate specific texts with these defined genres.

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[1] Elliott Oring, "Folk Narratives," *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres. An Introduction*, ed. Elliott Oring (Logan: Utah State UP, 1986), pp. 121-122.

[2] Ibid., p. 123.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid. Another list is found in Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folklore Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends*. Revised and enlarged, ed. Stith Thompson, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1955).

[5] Oring, pp. 123-124.

[6] Ibid., p. 124.

[7] Ibid; William Bascom, "Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives," *Journal of American Folklore* 78 (1965): 3-20.

3.1 Myth

In colloquial English, the word "myth" sometimes means "untruthful information." Scholars, on the other hand, tend to view myths not as fallacy, but as something sacred and true to its bearers.[8] The definition of "myth" by folklorists and cultural anthropologists can be formulated as a "narrative of cultural or religious beginnings in their sacred sense."[9] Traditional myths circulate orally at first, though they sometimes retain their significance after they have been written down. For example, the biblical story of Adam and Eve may serve as an example of a myth, even though it has long taken a written form.[10] By extension, the term "myth" is used at times to describe stories that are derived from earlier myths but are no longer believed, or are analyzed by people from another cultural group who do not share the beliefs. This secondary meaning of "myth" sometimes eclipses the primary meaning in our culturally expansive and skeptical world, and thus its connection with fallacy. Still, many folklorists and cultural anthropologists are interested in the earlier cultural context and significance "rather than simply as literature or philosophy."[11]

For us, then, myth is a narrative of cultural or spiritual beginnings; it is sacred; it generates a cultural response and often crosses the boundaries between different cultures and traditions; finally, it "tends to be a core narrative in larger ideological system" with explanatory or etiological functions.[12] For our purpose, all folkloric texts which answer to this description can be attributed to "myth" as the genre of folklore.

The corpus used in this dissertation does not include any clear-cut examples of myths as defined above.[13] In the 18th and 19th centuries, the period from which we have numerous folk texts about Ukrainian Cossacks, classic folk myths seem to have stopped being productive. The Church had long since claimed authority over the knowledge of profound truths about creation and the order of the universe, and had made significant impact on the perception of sacredness. Almost the only alternative to the dominance of the official churches was the apocryphal tradition, which allowed for a more liberal interpretation of the mythic realm. Some earlier myths still endured, though they tended not to be believed in the same way, thus shifting into the realm of tales. It is not surprising then, that folk myths are not a particularly rich source of motifs about Cossacks. The following example illustrates how Cossacks are occasionally associated in myth texts.

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[8] Oring, p. 124.

[9] S. v. "Myth," by Claire R. Farrer in Thomas A. Green, ed. *Folklore. An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and* Art, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1997), pp. 575-580 (on page 575).

[10] Ibid.

[11] Farrer, pp. 575-580.

[12] Ibid; Oring, p. 124.

[13] The closest to myths is the story "Two rocks, called the "Mighty Knights." It is, in fact, a local etiological legend, which explains the origins and the name of a certain geographical location. The motif of creation in this text is clearly a secondary one. See Appendix C (№ 4).

During one of his ethnographic expeditions, the 19th century Ukrainian author and folklorist Tadei Rylsky interviewed a man called Zhuk. In this interview, the informant related an apocryphal myth about the origins of the world and the evil spirit. As the story goes, after God created the evil spirit (*chort*), the latter asked God to give him servants:

> **Zhuk**: …So, he [*chort*] goes to God and starts asking Him for servants. God tells him: "Go and wave your hand and you will have your servants." *Chort* waved his hand and got some servants. But — you see — *chort* is such an insatiable creature, that he began waving his hands on and on. And, alas! Legions of lesser *chorts* appeared. Seeing that God says to all His Angels, Archangels and Cherubs: "Come on now, my lads, *Black Sea Cossacks*,[14] elevate my throne over those enemy forces." And they did as they were told…[15]

The plot of this story, an "etiological legend" and "myth," revolves around the topic of Divine Creation and the struggle between Good and Evil. Cossacks are clearly associated with the Angels, Archangels and Cherubs on the side of Good. No further details of their role in this process are given however, and their presence in the text consists simply of one reference.

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[14] The Cossacks of the Black Sea Cossacks Host were a military formation founded in 1787.

[15] F. R. Ryl'skii, "K izucheniiu ukrainskogo narodnogo mirovozreniia" [Towards the studies on the worldview of Ukrainian folk], *Ukraintsi: narodni viruvannia, povir'ia, demonolohiia* (Kyiv: Lybid', 1991), pp. 25-51 (on page 38). [Reprint of the article, published in *Kievskaia starina*, 1888, № 11])).

3.2 Legend and Tale

American folklorist Linda Dégh defines "legend" as a "short, oral prose narrative based in the reality of performers and audiences." [16] The term "legends" originally referred to books containing accounts of the lives of the saints. By the end of the Middle Ages, the word "legend" had come to mean "inauthentic information" or an "improbable story."[17] The conventional popular meaning of legend continues to contain reference to information of questioned credibility. As in the case of myths, legends were believed in their original cultural context, but were often later questioned from different cultural perspectives. Also similarly, some scholars study legends with an eye for the original culturally relative truth that those texts contain or contained.[18]

For our purpose, I view legend as a short oral prose narrative with an emphasis upon supernatural topics, which is perceived by its original community as a generally credible account from the past. It is similar to myth in the sense that it tends to explain and educate people. Unlike myth however, legend is more local in its character, dealing with events from a particular geographic area and generating a response from a particular group of people. Several sub-categories of legend are sometimes identified, including religious, heroic, folk, historical and urban legends.[19]

Swedish folklorist Carl von Sydow introduced "a formal distinction between a simple form of legend, the *memorate* (or retelling of one's own experience), and the more polished *fabulate* (based upon personal experience, but transformed by the creative process of oral transmission)."[20] According to von Sydow, "*memorates* are narratives of personal happenings which may pass into the tradition as *memorial sagns* (*Erinnerungssagen*)."[21] Von Sydow defines *fabulate* as "a short, single-episodic tale, built…upon elements of real happenings and observations, but with this background of reality transformed by the inventive fantasy of the people."[22] I would also assign to *fabulates* those stories in which the narrator relates someone else's account, acting as a "voicing agent" of that person and telling the story in the third person.[23] Von Sydow also suggests a division of *fabulate* into 1) *belief fabulates* (*Glaubensfabulate*), which are associated with popular beliefs and often with persons and objects, intended to confirm the truth of the story; 2) *jocular fabulates* (*Scherzfabulat*), which are associated with humorous stories, such as the "Tales about the Stupid Ogre," and 3) *personal fabulates* (*Personenfabulate*), which are connected to definite, named persons, which sometimes expand into a *fabulate cycle.*[24] Von Sydow brings up a cycle about the Flemish folk hero Till Eulenspiegel as an example of *fabulate cycle.* Stories about Cossack chieftain Sirko and Colonel Palii may serve as examples of *fabulate cycles* in Ukrainian Cossack folklore.[25]

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[16] S. v. "Legend," by Linda Dégh in Thomas A. Green, ed. *Folklore. An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and* Art, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1997), pp. 485-493 (on page 485).

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Dégh, pp. 485-489.

[20] Ibid., p. 490.

[21] Carl W. von Sydow, "Kategorien der Prosa-Volksdichtung" [Categories of the prose tradition], *Selected Papers on Folklore* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1948), pp. 61-88 (on page 86).

[22] Von Sydow, p. 86.

[23] See the text "Zaporozhian chastity" in Appendix B (№ 4).

Von Sydow also identifies another sub-genre within the larger genre of legend— the *chronicate*. *Chronicates* are multi-episodic narratives "which tell of actual events, are known and of interest only within confined geographical regions, where the acting persons are known."[26] Von Sydow's definitions of single-episodic *fabulates* and multi-episodic *chronicates* allow for a better understanding of our legends' composition and purpose.

Dégh also offers a distinction among legends on the basis of their dissemination. The "local legend is attached to a certain locus (a historical and geographical environment), whereas the migratory legend is a more crystallized, widespread, and fictionalized form."[27] Legends in this dissertation belong to both these types.

As early as 1816, the Grimm brothers looked at the poetics of texts as a principal criterion for defining the major genres of folk prose. When comparing tales (*Märchen*) to legends (*Sagn*), they came to the conclusion that while "the *Märchen* is more poetic…the legend is more historical." As Linda Dégh puts it, "generations of folklorists elaborated on the Grimms' suggestion and specified further the differences between tale and legend, the two basic forms of narration related to each other by a shared body of motifs and episodes but standing in opposition to one another."[28]

In tales, "the plots are laid in an unreal world of fantasy; there are no dates or real names of persons or places; the action is linear and the various episodes logically succeed one another. They are known from the time before the Christian era and are confined geographically to the Indo-European cultural sphere…"[29] East-European scholars, from Vladimir Propp to Stepan Myshanych, have paid specific attention to the logic and sequence of events in a given text to trace the relation between the fantasy and reality. They found that the sequence of the motifs is no different in tales than in other genres of folk prose. Significantly, a tale is considered to be fantasy by both its narrators and audience, while legend, despite the presence of fantastic elements in it, is traditionally received as a somewhat truthful account of days gone by.[30]

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[24] Von Sydow, p. 87.

[25] See Appendix C (№ 8, № 9, № 10, № 11).

[26] Von Sydow, p. 87. For an example of a *chronicate* see such texts as "The reminiscences about Zaporozhian Cossacks, their ways and customs" in Appendix B (№ 2); "A Tale about Zaporozhian Cossack Vasiurynsky" in Appendix B (№ 3), etc. Overall, as we shall see later on, the majority of the narratives from the "Cossack cycle" of Ukrainian folklore belong to those three sub-genres of a folk legend, discerned by Carl von Sydow.

[27] Dégh, p. 490. Among the folklore texts, cited and analyzed in this dissertation, the majority of the narratives about the Cossacks lands and its treasures fall under the genre of local legend (See Appendix D). To migratory legend I assign a story about a miraculous birth and deeds of a "culture hero." See Appendix A (№ 11) and Appendix C (№ 18).

[28] Dégh, p. 487.

[29] Von Sydow, p. 86.

Linda Dégh provides a more contemporary and elaborate perspective on the relationship between the tale and the legend in her article "Legend":

> ...The two genres express opposing view of the world: The *Märchen* is fiction, a fantastic reflection of reality as individual narrators consciously forge it, whereas the legend, as presentation of fantastic reality, aspires to feature real events of personal experience. Thus, the *Märchen* is pure fantasy, which people expect as entertainment and delight; the legend is information, answering important questions. The *Märchen* is a well-tailored objective poetry that holds its audience spellbound, but when it is over, it has no aftereffect. The legend is a subjective, hesitant account that appeals to the personal concerns of average people and reports things that are breathtaking, baffling, horrendous, uncanny, shocking, bizarre, grotesque, or even funny but that could happen to anyone while doing everyday chores. The *Märchen* is the career story of a symbolic central heroic figure, but the legend has no hero or heroine— it concerns us. The purpose of retelling a legend is to report, inform, explain, teach, advise, help or enlighten. The legend answers unuttered questions of common concern: What is it? Why is it so? Can this be true? How can such a thing happen? What can be done about it? How can it be avoided or made happen? And since the legend seeks an answer, its message need not be encased in an artistically constructed and stabilized or conventionalized talelike frame. The ambiguity of feelings, the uncertainty, the hope, and the despair surrounding the message create a specific narrational form and style for the legend and keep the narrated text eternally unfinished, amplifiable, and fragmentary. Consequently, the researcher has to assemble numerous variants of the same story to get an idea of the extent of a type...[31]

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[30] Vladimir Propp, *Russkaia skazka* [Russian folktale] (Leningrad: Leningrad State U, 1984), pp. 37-38; Stepan Myshanych, *Usni narodni opovidannia. Pytannia poetyky* [Oral folk stories. Issues of their poetics] (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1986), p. 106; Viktor Davydiuk, *Ukrains'ka mifolohichna lehenda* [Ukrainian mythological legend] (L'viv: Svit, 1992), p. 11.

[31] Dégh, pp. 487-488.

While legends follow "historicity," they can also make use of fantasy. However, fantasy in the legends is an auxiliary element and does not define the plot of a particular story. Legends do not necessarily have a prearranged, generally expected "happy ending," as most of the tales do. They play a role in establishing connections between the events and people of old and the storyteller's generation.

Ukrainian folklorists classically describe legend as a "non-folktale" (*nekazkovyi*) genre of folk prose, which combines the description of actual events with fantastic elements.[32] In the context of the legend genre, they also name two related genres, namely *opovidannia* (a story, told by a participant in a certain event or by a witness) and *perekaz* (re-telling of a story by another person). These genres are believed to employ types and motifs, also found in a "legend." Furthermore, similar to the legend, *opovidannia* and *perekaz* often make use of fantastic elements, which are presented as truthful, credible facts.[33] All in all, the line between legend on the one side, and *perekaz* and *opovidannia* on the other, is a fine one. Therefore, in this dissertation, I discuss these two genres in the context of the legend.

In contrast with legends, folk tales are based upon fantastic elements and therefore tend to be relatively conservative. Tales cultivate the sense of another reality, which is completely imagined by the members of the audience. Already well developed by the 16th century, tales continued to grow and change in any community's repertoire through geographic dissemination and continued creative imagination. Consequently, occasional references to Cossacks may be expected in tales as the storytellers selected ideas from their experience or other narratives. However, these references would not be likely to form the core of an original folk tale about Ukrainian Cossacks. They would rather appear as variations of earlier tale types. The following is an example to illustrate this idea.

The tale "Mamaryha, the Cossack" is one of the few Ukrainian folk tales, where a Cossack is mentioned. It was published in Volodymyr Lesevych's collection of folk tales collected from Cossack Rodion Chmykhalo during the late 1800s.[34] Though this tale's main character is identified as a Cossack, it resembles a typical non-Cossack tale in every other way. The main hero could easily be some other person, rather than a Cossack. At the beginning of the story, there is the motif of a Cossack, who "serves without reward":

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[32] *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O. I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), p. 8.

[33] Stepan Myshanych, pp. 301-310, 314-316; Halyna Sukhobrus, "Legendy ta perekazy" [Legends and stories], *Ukrains'ka narodna poetychna tvorchist'*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Radians'ka shkola, 1958), pp. 405-422.

[34] Volodymyr Lesevych, "Opovidannia Denysivs'koho kozaka R. F. Chmykhala" [Stories, told by R. F. Chmykhalo, the Cossack from Denysivka], *Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk*, vol. XIV, (L'viv, 1904), pp. 54-63.

> Cossack Mamaryha served for 25 years as a hired laborer, [but] earned no oxen, or horses or even a good word for his services. Upon this he went to serve the tsar, served him for 25 years, [but] earned no oxen, or horses or even a good word…[35]

The repetitions, such as "…earned no oxen, or horses or even a good word…," are a common device in folk tales generally. The sequence of events as Mamaryha finds friends is also a common structural device in tales, takes us back to the Grimm brothers and "The musicians of Bremen" as well as many others:

> …So, [Mamaryha] went on journey and was walking for a week, was walking for two weeks. And he met a lad.
> —How do you do? What and who are you?
> —I am Mamaryha, the Cossack. I served for 25 years as a hired laborer, but earned no oxen, or horses or even a good word; then I served the tsar… And what and who are you?
> —I worked as chef in my lord's kitchen. Once I was carrying precious china, tripped and broke it, and was about to be flogged. So, I ran away…[36]

Another popular structural element is the acquisition of three miraculous objects (a magic bag which provides food and drink; magic boots which allow the wearer to walk on the water; and a flying magic horse).[37] Mamaryha is somewhat of a trickster hero: he pretends to assist three brothers who quarrel over their inheritance, then he snatches the magical objects and makes a successful escape ("…Nobody is going to divide those objects among three of you better than me…").[38] When he himself is tricked and deprived of those objects, he uses magic berries to restore them to his possession.[39] The tale ends with Mamaryha the Tsar ruling over an entire kingdom.[40] Overall, this text about Cossack Mamaryha has nothing to do with actual Cossacks and their deeds. It is a classic folktale.

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[35] Lesevych, pp. 54-55.

[36] Ibid., p. 55.

[37] See Types 560-649 in *Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov. Vostochnoslavianskaia skazka* [The comparative index of types of east-Slavic tale], ed. K. V. Chistov, et. al. (Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1979), pp. 159-168. Also see Wilhelm und Jacob Grimm, *Kinder –u. Hausmärchen* [Grimm's household fairy tales] (New York: McLaughlin Bros., 1890); Aleksandr Afanas'ev, *Narodnye russkie skazki v tr'okh tomakh* [Russian folk tales], 3 vols. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izd.-vo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1957).

[38] Lesevych, p. 57.

[39] *Narodnye russkie skazki v tr'okh tomakh*, vol. 1, pp. 328-333.

Legends by their very definition are the category of folk prose that engages historical experience most centrally. Texts from this genre are particularly valuable for studying the representation of Cossacks in Ukrainian folklore. The Veselovskii-Kolessa theory of folk texts adapting to historical context and people's lifestyle seems likely to be applicable to legends more clearly than myths or tales. Therefore, any researcher, interested in the representation of Ukrainian Cossacks in folklore, should look first of all at folk legends.

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[40] Lesevych, p. 62.

CHAPTER 4: THEMES, TYPES AND MOTIFS IN LEGENDS ABOUT UKRAINIAN COSSACKS

In this chapter, I shall provide a detailed analysis of each of the main themes, folk types and motifs, found in Ukrainian legends about the Cossacks. Along the way, various factors, which influenced the corpus of legends, will be examined.

Among the seventy-seven featured texts there are *memorates*, *fabulates* and *chronicates*, migratory and local etiological legends. The entire corpus of legends about Ukrainian Cossacks is divided into four groups reflecting the four main themes.

Eleven texts in this corpus deal with the beginnings of the Cossacks and the foundation of their order (military formations, organization and strongholds). Several texts make specific reference to the historical struggle between the Russian state and the Ottoman Empire. Others, echoing earlier literary works, trace the Cossack origins to other historic groups, naming *Khozary* or others as their ancestors. Still other legends trace the roots of the Cossacks to a single ancestor. I identify this theme as "Cossacks' origin" and present the texts in Appendix A.

The second theme, "Natural and supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks," deals with Cossack appearance, intelligence, supernatural strength, uncommon valor in battle, relations with other people, clothing, weapons and other natural and supernatural qualities. Twenty-two narratives are grouped under this theme and presented in Appendix B.

A third theme involves the accounts of specific historical and non-historical characters. The individual heroes of those stories are often prominent leaders: Hetmans, noblemen, rulers, Chieftains, but also include ordinary Cossacks. This theme overlaps significantly with the second theme, as the characteristics of individuals are frequently used as a metaphor for the characteristics of the entire group. Twenty-three texts are presented under the rubric "Cossack and non-Cossack individuals" in Appendix C.

The final twenty-one texts, reproduced in Appendix D, explore the topic of Cossack treasures. It will be argued in favor of a strong semantic link between the concepts of Cossack lands and Cossack treasures in these stories.

The division of these texts into four specific thematic categories and the ascription of each text into one or another of these categories are somewhat subjective, and certain texts may fit, rather uncomfortably, into one theme rather than another. This arbitrariness will be particularly noticeable when we look at specific motifs within the thematic categories, and see that these motifs are often found repeated across more than one theme.

However, the identification of the four themes has significant advantages. It provides a structure for the upcoming detailed discussion of the texts in Chapter 4, and serves as a quick indication of the interests of the people, who told those stories. Besides, these four themes reflect thematic listings in other studies of folk prose and may also suggest certain topics that did not produce a distinct corpus of texts.[1]

4.1 Cossacks' origin

The origin of Ukrainian Cossacks represents a rather unique topic in Ukrainian folklore. This uniqueness is derived from a number of circumstances. Texts, which discuss the origin of any people, are relatively rare in Ukrainian folklore, and texts about the origin of the Cossacks are even more sporadic. Secondly, the topic of origin in general and Cossack origin in particular is limited to folk prose.

Many of the folk texts about the origins of people can be identified as *jocular fabulates*. These texts often employ humorous motifs while depicting the origins of such entities as Ukrainians, Poles, Gypsies, Lithuanians and Russians. The following example comes from Ukrainian folklore:

> **Anonymous, collected by T. Derlytsia:** When God began creating various peoples, he made [Polish] noble out of dough, and made *Rusyn* (Ukrainian— *R. S.*) out of clay. [So God] sculptured [them] and let them dry under the sun. Then a dog came and did not eat *Rusyn*, for he was made of clay, but ate the dough-made nobleman. Seeing this God ordered His angel to take that dog by its ears and hit it against the trees. When angel hit the dog against the pussy willow (Ukrainian "verba"— *R. S.*) — a nobleman Verbytskyi came out off the dog; hit it against the beech tree (Ukrainian "buk"— *R. S.*) — a nobleman Bukovskyi [appeared]...[2]

Very few *legends*, dedicated to the "true" (or rather "perceived") origins of peoples, who lived on Ukrainian lands, were collected and published. However, those texts were most likely more numerous and played an important role in shaping those peoples' identities. To a certain extent, attempts to trace the origin of the Cossacks in Ukrainian folklore echoes the attempts of 19th century Ukrainian intellectuals to trace (or rather, to construct) the lineage of their nation, associating, for this purpose, "Cossacks" with "Ukrainian people." This topic offers scholars a chance to understand the people's sense of the past and present as well as the nature of "cultural order," which prompted such a conceptualization during the 1800s.

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[1] Among the major themes are the themes of origins, formation, characteristics of people, principles of their social organization, their values, etc. See Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folklore Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends.* Revised and enlarged, ed. Stith Thompson, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana, UP, 1955); *Tipologicheskie issledovania po fol'kloru: sbornik statei pamiati V. Proppa* [Typological research in folklore] (Moscow: Nauka, 1975); *Folklore genres*, ed. Dan Ben-Amos (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976).

[2] See *Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk* [A collection of ethnographic materials], ed. Ivan Franko, vol. 5 (Lviv: Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1898), p. 113.

The eleven texts, which deal with the origins of the Cossacks, generally fit the classification system by Aarne-Thompson under "distribution and differentiation of people" (Types 1600-1699), and, particularly, the "origins of various European peoples" (A 1611.5) and "origins of professional warriors" (A 1658) motifs.[3] For instance, in his work on Iranian mythology, Albert J. Carnoy writes about the emergence of the professional warrior caste while describing king Jamshīd's establishing institutions and castes of the ancient Iranian society: "...Arrayed for battle on the other hand were those who formed the military caste; they were the lion-men inured to war — the lights of armies and of provinces — whose office was to guard the royal throne..."[4] This example shows the existence of certain archetypal forms, used in descriptions of certain groups of people in Indo-Iranian/Indo-European folklore. In my opinion, those forms later on served as model while portraying various groups of people, e.g. warriors as "lion-men inured to war," agricultural workers as "independent tillers of the soil, the sowers and the reapers," artisans, who "live by doing handiwork— a turbulent crew."[5] Similar motifs are found in legends about origin of Ukrainian Cossacks as well.

Those texts can be divided among seven types. Each type also offers a combination of various motifs.

Type 1 ("*Escapees from military tribute*"). Those four texts, which belong to this type, were collected in the regions of Poltava (2 texts) and Katerynoslav (2 texts) during the last quarter of the 19th century.

The general plot of this legend type has three main motifs: 1) "tribute, paid with people" (an overwhelmed Russian ruler fulfills the demand of a more powerful enemy to pay a tribute comprised of men); 2) "refusal by the captives to go to captivity" (the sacrificed men stop in the open steppe, hold council and decide to stay there instead of perishing in captivity); 3) "the people win their freedom in battle" (the enemy is irritated and attempts to subdue the Cossacks, but is unsuccessful). In one of the accounts, the preceding motifs are followed by the "unjust ruler" motif (conflict with a Tsarina; dispersal of the Cossacks), which clearly represents a popular reflection onto recent historical events. This motif most likely refers towards the policies of Catherine II, aimed at the liquidation of *Zaporoz'ka Sich* (1775):

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[3] Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, pp. 242-243, 246. In respect to the parallel European motifs see "Irish legends: origin of *fiana* (band of professional warriors)" as the A 1658.1 motif (Ibid., p. 246).

[4] Louis Herbert Gray, ed., *The mythology of all races* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1964), vol. 6, *Iranian mythology*, by Albert J. Carnoy, p. 317.

[5] Ibid.

> **Dmytro Bykovsky (A, № 1, excerpt 1):** [6] There was some kind of Russian Tsar, who was threatened by a foreign ruler… That was a long, long time ago… So, that Tsar of ours paid tribute to that adversary with people; it was like that, he had people surrounded as a herd of sheep, and chased [them to the enemy]. If somebody went to that enemy, then that person would surely never return: forget about him.[7]
>
> **"Old man" Andrii (A, № 2, excerpt 1):**
> —"Where did Zaporozhians come from?" —I am asking Andrei…
> —They came here from everywhere.
> —Why and how did it happen?
> —…Once upon a time there was a Russian Tsar, who was threatened by a foreign ruler… That happened a long, long time ago… So, that Tsar of ours paid tribute to that enemy with his people… [8]
>
> **Kostiantyn Kovalenko (A, № 3, excerpt 1):** …Our Tsar had a few people, and the Turks had many. So, the Turks put pressure on the Tsar saying: "Send to me ten men each month, or else I shall take everything by force." —"Well, if I have to give you what you want then I shall do this for I cannot resist you."[9]
>
> **Pavlo Kysly (A, № 4, excerpt 1):** There used to be a great Tsarina, who ruled without a consort. Wherever an enemy knight

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[6] From this reference and on, references are made to one of the Appendices' sections and the number, under which the cited text is listed.

[7] Iakiv Novytsky, *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [Cossacks in folk memory] (Zaporizhzhia: Interbook, 1991), pp. 87-88 (on the page 87). Collected from Dmytro Bykovsky (87) in the town of Nikopol, Katerynoslav county, on June 12, 1894. See Appendix A (№ 1).

[8] Iakov Novitskii, "Iz narodnykh predanii o zaporozhtsakh" [From the folk tales about Zaporozhian Cossacks], *Kievskaia starina* (*KS*) 10 (1885): 350-353 (on page 351). Collected from "old man Andrii" in the village of Vil'shanske, Katerynoslav guberniia, in 1875. See Appendix A (№ 2).

[9] Porfyrii Martynovych, *Ukrains'ky zapysy* [Ukrainian records] (Kiev: Typ. Imperatorskago universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1906), pp. 257-259 (on pages 257-258). Collected from Kostiantyn Kovalenko in the village of Martynivka, Kostiantynohrad county, Poltava guberniia in 1886. See Appendix A (№ 3).

> approached: "Come to battle!" And she does not dare— because she is afraid. "Well, if you do not dare to face me in battle, then give me your twenty soldiers in the captivity." She rejoiced and dispatched soldiers right away: saying, go there and there! So, they went [to the captivity].[10]

In the above-cited texts, the relations between the monarch and his/her subjects, occupy one of the central places. In the first variant, we find signs of criticism of the Tsar's actions. The motif of monarch's injustice plays an important role in this type's texts, providing an example of idealization of the "lord-vassal pact"— a phenomenon of the feudal social system. The breech of this "pact" by the Tsar, who was deemed responsible for protecting his subjects, is sharply condemned. In his account Bykovsky creates strong images, which indicate the harshness of the Tsar's decision and the potentially terrible fate of the captives: "had [people] surrounded as a herd of sheep," "...chased them to the enemy," "if somebody went to that enemy, then [that person] would surely never return..." Also, in the fourth variant, Tsarina "rejoices" while sending her subjects to captivity.[11]

Upon their dispatch to the enemy, the party of would-be captives stops in a wide-open steppe. Inspired by their leader, the people hold a council and decide not to go into captivity: they are in a "no-man's land" without monarchial or any other authority over them; they are self-sufficient and versed in various crafts and trades; they can defend themselves and, in general, can get by on their own. Each year the ruler sends more and more people into captivity, but they defy their ruler and join the original escapees:

> **Bykovsky (A, № 1, excerpt 2):** They would wander into the steppe, had a council and said: "why are we to go to the cursed seed of Mohamed? To be slaughtered? There are blacksmiths, tailors, weavers, potters, wool-carders among us, there are medicine men, *kharakternyky*[12] among us as well; let's live here." Next year more people came, on the third year yet more came, — and an entire army emerged.[13]

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[10] Petr Efimenko, "Otkuda vzialis' zaporozhtsy (narodnoe predanie)" [Where did the Zaporozhian Cossacks come from (folk narrative)], *KS* 12 (1882): 582-593 (on pages 589-590). Collected from Pavlo Kysly (70) in the town of Poltava during the 1870s. See Appendix A (№ 4).

[11] See Appendix A (№ 1 and № 4). For the corresponding motifs see the "Captivity-miscellaneous" (R 9) and "Injustice, deadliest of monarch's sins" (P 12.2) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, pp. 140, 272.

[12] In this and following citations italics is mine.

[13] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, p. 87. See the above-cited example from Iranian folklore in Carnoy, p. 317.

"Old man' Andrii" (A, № 2, excerpt 2): …Once upon a time our Tsar dispatched the most distinguished people to that enemy. They went into the steppe, had a council and said: "Why are we to go to the cursed seed of Mohamed? …There are blacksmiths, tailors, weavers, and potters among us… Let's live here." They went to the woods, bushes, dug the earth houses and went on living there.[14]

Kovalenko (A, № 3, excerpt 2): So, the Tsar began to dispatch ten men every month. As soon as one month was over— he sent ten more men. Two parties had left, but who knows where they went; maybe they were living under the Turks or maybe they were living elsewhere… So, on the third month another group was being assembled: "You, Hryts, must go; and you, Khomo, must go too …" And one of those men had a son, sixteen years old. "So, my son, you are staying home, and you have to take care of your mother and the children." —"No, dad! How can I stay and feed your children for I am not a grown up person, who is up to the task, — better you stay behind and feed them yourself and I shall go in your stead." —"But how do you go to captivity if you are a youngster still." —"So what, I shall manage." So they went. And they were going and going… They entered the Turkish land. That boy said to his compatriots: "Look, men!" —"What is up?" —they replied. —"Are we not stupid that we are going to captivity on our free will?! Listen to me, get here and start digging the fortifications. Built them not so big, enough to fit ten people or so, and those, who will come later, are going to dig their own fortifications nearby." So, they were living like that. Ten more people came. The fourth month has passed… and it all went like that: "Where are you going? Better stay here with us." That boy made them to stay. On the fifth month ten more people were going to captivity. The boy persuaded them to stay as well. He had already assembled thirty men. Oh, and many more were coming! …So, he was observing this and wrote to the Tsar: "O Tsar! Do not send people to the enemy or they will take all of your people!" And the Turks were writing to the Tsar: "Why are you not sending the tribute? We shall ruin your country punishing you for disobedience! …And I shall desolate your Russia! …Why are you not sending tribute to me?!" And the Tsar is replying that "I have been sending to you people starting from that very month and every month since then!" —"Well, where are they, then!?" That boy was persuading people to stay, and the people were also

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[14] *Iz narodnykh predanii o zaporozhtsakh*, p. 351.

> coming from other places— one from here, two from there. Until there were forty thousand of them![15]

> **Kysly (A, № 4, excerpt 2):** So, they went [to the captivity]. Well, the people have been sent, so they must be there by now— is what Tsarina is thinking. People went, but did not make it [to captivity]… They entrenched and formed an encampment. Saying, "why should we to go to him: let him (the enemy) looking for us." They spent an entire year in the steppe— like vagabonds: they would steal a sheep here and a cow over there. On the second year the enemy general submits another demand: "Come and face me on the battlefield. Why did you not send twenty men as tribute to me?" And she replies: "but I did send them to you." Then the enemy demands forty men... They also stayed [on the steppe]. Their number has increased up to sixty men. On the third year…she sent sixty men…[16]

The third motif shows the enemy ruler irritated by the Russian monarch's break of promise to send people to captivity. The enemy attempts to subdue the Cossacks, but is either vanquished in battle or duped by the Cossacks:

> **Bykovsky (A, № 1, excerpt 3):** Next year more people came, on the third year yet more came, — and an entire army emerged. At last, the enemy Tsar is writing to ours: "Why," — he says, — "you are not sending to me your people as tribute?" Ours replies: "I am sending to you people every year."…Many years have passed. New Tsars began to reign in those lands, and more and more people came to live in the wild steppe. The enemies began to bother them with raids, and those people began to use sorcery on those enemies. Regardless of how many troops were dispatched by the enemy, those people would wipe out all of them… They were great *kharakternyky*! … The rumors spread that somewhere lived Zaporozhians— an army that could not be overwhelmed. They were led by a Chieftain, who himself was *kharakternyk.*[17]

> **Kovalenko (A, № 3, excerpt 3):** That boy was persuading people to stay, and the people were also coming from other places — one from here, two from there. Until there were forty thousand of

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[15] Martynovych, p. 258.
[16] Efimenko, p. 590.
[17] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, p. 87.

> them! The boy had achieved this all by himself. He was a knight, but nobody knew about that fact. "So lads, now we are living at the foreign land and we have to decide to whom we shall serve! The choice is that we serve either to the Turks or to the Russian Tsar. We cannot fight against the Russian Tsar! Our uncles, our fathers live there, and we would sin were we to attack the White Tsar…" (The next fragment is missing.) Upon knowing about this deliberation Turks said: "So, that is your decision. If this is your choice indeed then we shall vanquish and uproot you so that our land will be free from your presence!"
>
> So, the Turks were coming in force to attack the boy and his army. Came at last… Turks were here, and the boy lived there… But the Turks could not reach him: a tall mountain stood in their way!! They went around it several times and were forced to retreat.
>
> The leader of the Turks got angry! How could that be?! What was going on?! So, he dispatched other troops.
>
> …River stood in their way this time… So wide— so wide, that water glowed with silver!!..
>
> He sent troops the third time… Woods… thorns… Nothing, but woods!!..
>
> … So, the leader of the Turks invited the Cossack Chieftain to pay him a visit… So, the Cossack Chieftain went to a meeting with a Turkish leader!!… "Go, you lads, beyond the border and bring a fist full of Russian land to me." One Cossack went and brought some. Chieftain took off his boots and poured some land inside them. Then he put his boots on. "Well, now let's go, lads." The Chieftain is going mounted and the mounted Cossacks are going after him. The Turkish leader is saying: "what tribute, then, are you willing to pay for living on my land? Are you going to be on my side, or on the side of the Russian Tsar?" —"On whose land I am standing, to him then shall I serve."[18]

While the accounts by Bykovsky A (№ 1), "old man Andrii" A (№ 2) and Kysly A (№ 4) portray the foundation of the Cossacks and their order as the result of general agreement among the people, the text, collected from Kostiantyn Kovalenko A (№ 3), focuses upon the Cossack leader, making him the founder of the Cossack organization. In fact, the latter text provides first example of a "Cossack hero" in folk legends, whose description generally follows the pattern of portraying the "typical hero" in international folklore. In Kovalenko's legend, the hero is a "male," who is "tested for fitness to be a hero," assumes leadership in a group and "fulfils his quest."[19] This account, however, lacks many of the "essential" hero characteristics (e.g., such motifs as "divine/royal origins," "miraculous conception/birth," "his rescue and instruction by wild/supernatural beings" to name just a few).

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[18] Martynovych, pp. 258-259. The original motif of a hero standing on a "foreign land" (filled in the basket, carriage or boots) is attributed to an encounter between a monarch (Peter I, David) and his jester (Balakirev) and is found in Russian and Belorussian folklore. It is a migratory motif, probably of literary origin. See types "About clever and astute people" (1525-1639) in *Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov. Vostochnoslavianskaia skazka* [The comparative index of types of east-Slavic tale], ed. K. V. Chistov, et. al. (Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1979), p. 333.

Kovalenko's "Cossack hero" resembles the "unpromising hero" (L 100) motif, quite popular in European folklore. In that account "the hero" is a boy of sixteen, who is leading people into captivity, but, instead, saves them from it by organizing them into Cossacks. In the Irish *The Battle of Ventry*, Fiachra Fotlebar, the king of Ulster, had the "only son, thirteen years old." When nobody could face the powerful enemy in battle, the boy spoke to his father and his father's court:

> "...Well mightiest thou...send all the youths of Uster with me to them, as thou are not able to fight thyself." "Do not say so," said the king, "for a child of thirteen years is not fit for fighting, and if such a one were, thou wouldst be so. And the king perceived that the boy did not wish to live without going to the fianns of Erinn. Therefore he was seized by them and put into a chamber under the lock, and twelve sons of the kings and chieftains of Ulster that were his foster-brothers together with him. "O youths," said the boy," "you would do well if you went with me to the fianns of Erin...it would be good for you, if you had a good name of your own... This speech went round among the youths, and when the king was asleep, they went into the armoury, and every boy took a shield, and a sword, and a helmet, and two battle-spears and two whelps of a greyhound out with him..."[20]

Herewith, I am not trying to establish a direct connection between Kovalenko's text and the ancient Irish legends, but, rather, to emphasize the international popularity of a given folk motif.

The emphasis upon the leader's personality is also emblematic of other texts about the Cossacks. The Cossack leader is often portrayed as a supernatural being (e.g., *kharakternyk* or a knight); other Chieftain's features include wisdom, bravery, faithfulness, a combination of fatherly love towards his subjects with a fatherly harshness to the breakers of strict discipline. At the same time, these are the "origin" texts, where the Cossack leader first emerges as the genuine "culture hero," the founder of the Cossacks and their order.[21] Wise, brave, just, loyal to his subjects— he is everything their former patron, the Tsar, was not.

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[19] FitzRoy Richard Somerset, Baron Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1956), pp. 174-175; Bill Butler, *The Myth of the Hero* (London: Ryder & Company, 1979), pp. 28-29.

[20] *The Cath Finntrága or Battle of Ventry*, ed. Kuno Meyer (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1885), pp. 22-23. This work is based on the 15th century manuscript, which, in turn, is a recording of the older Irish folklore.

At the same time, whether examining the agreement among the people or the role of the "culture hero" in this process, the foundation of the Cossacks and their order is neither an ancient myth of Creation, nor the classic legend of the ancient Greece and Rome, but a rather modern legend, an account of social organization: "...and [those men] stuck supplies and arms...and they were one hundred and twenty men. And they began to be known as Zaporozhians."[22]

Type 2 ("*Cossacks as runaways*"). It is represented by a single text, recorded by Dmytro Iavornytsky from old Cossack Ivan Rossoloda in the Katerynoslav region during the 1880s. Iavornytsky's informant does not present a story of conflict between the Russian monarch and his (her) enemy. Instead, he describes Cossacks as former runaways. He begins with how the first newcomers came to the steppes, soon forming a formidable army of some twenty-forty thousand warriors:

> **Ivan Rossoloda (A, № 9, excerpt 1):** —Well, tell me, my dear old man, how did Zaporozhians come into being?
> —How they came into being? The Cossacks came from different places. One person came from here, and another one came from there, their number increased from ten to twenty, from twenty to thirty— soon they constituted a considerable force. Everybody was welcomed to Sich, only the name had to be changed: some ran from the landlords and were accepted; some ran from their father and mother and were accepted; some left the wife and were accepted; if one made it to the Sich then he was allowed to live rather than being kicked out. ...
> —And to whom did the Cossacks pay tribute?
> —To no one! They followed their own ways, — well, they were the Cossacks, knights and that's that.
> — And were there many of those Cossacks?

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[21] See the "Miraculous helper" types (50-599) in the *Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov*, p. 143. Also see the "Culture hero establishes social system" (A 546) motif with similar parallels in Persian (Carnoy) and Indian (Thompson: Balys) folklore in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, p. 124.

[22] See Appendix A (№ 4.) Reference is made to the "Military affairs" (P 550) and "Army" (P 551) motifs in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, p. 178.

> —I cannot tell you exactly what there numbers were, — only God knows that, but I think there were at least twenty thousand of them, maybe more. Those Zaporozhians, — name to them was legion! Some say that there were forty thousand of those Cossacks when they were leaving these lands.[23]

The motifs, which picture Cossacks arriving in the steppes in groups of ten-twenty men, and them creating a powerful army, bring this account close to the texts, ascribed to the first type. However, a story of the conflict between the Russian ruler and the foreign enemy is completely omitted, and this makes Rossoloda's account different from the previous texts.

Type 3 (“*Lost herdsmen*”). A third legend type is represented by a single text, recorded by Ivan Manzhura in the Katerynoslav region of Ukraine during the 1870s-1880s. In this text, the origins of the Cossacks are portrayed in one sentence: “Zaporozhians were grazing their animals here along the river of Samara in the woods and became separated from their people and stayed over here.”[24] It is not entirely clear from the text whether the people were called “Zaporozhians” before or after they got lost. However, estranged from their kin, Cossacks continued living in the woods and resorted to brigandry:

> **Anonymous, collected by Ivan Manzhura (A, № 10, excerpt 1):**
> …Then they began to lure people and rob [them]. When the wandering trader was coming nearby, the Cossacks would stretch cloth on the land, and that trader would put fish or cereal, or anything else on that cloth; and if the trader refused, then the Cossack would kill the bull [harnessed to the trader's carriage] with a pistol. However, the Cossacks did not beat people, only robbed them…[25]

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[23] Dmitrii Evarnitskii, *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda* [Folk memories and antiquities related to Zaporozh'e], part II (St.- Petersburg: Izdanie L. F. Panteleeva, 1888), pp. 246-247. An excerpt from the interview of Dmytro Iavornytsky with Ivan Rossoloda (age 116) in the village of Chernyshivka, Katerynoslav guberniia in the 1880s.

[24] “Skazki, poslovitsy i t.p., zapisannye v Ekaterinoslavskoi hubernii I. I. Manzhuroiu” [Tales, proverbs and alike recorded in Ekaterinoslav guberniia by I. I. Manzhura], *Sbornik Kharkovskogo filologicheskogo obshchestva. Materialy dlia istorii kolonizatsii i byta Kharkovskoi i otchasti Kurskoi i Voronezhskoi gubernii* (Kharkov: Tip. K. P. Schasni, 1890), p. 133.

[25] Manzhura, p. 133. This vagueness about what the informant actually meant is derived from a possibility to interpret the original text in a number of different ways: “Запорожци паслы оттуть по Самари въ лисахъ скотъ тай одризнылысь одъ своихъ и осталысь тутъ.”

These actions by the Cossacks closely resemble the folkloric accounts about *haidamaky* (the rebels; the brigands) from Kulish's *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi*. A detailed analysis of the "brigandry" motif and its relation to other motifs will be provided in the next section of Chapter 4.[26]

Like every single text, analyzed in this dissertation, this account contains a number of motifs, which do not deal directly with the central theme. For instance, after briefly introducing the "Cossack origin" at the beginning of the text, Manzhura's informant proceeded with the following motifs: "Cossack lands," "Invincibility of the Cossacks" and "Magic transportation by a cloak (cape)":

> **Manzhura (A, № 10, excerpt 2):** ... There is the Cossack town on the river of Samara here. And they had lots of money, because they were fighting a lot [and were taking military booty].
> While they were being chased away [such picture could be seen that when] the adversaries were shooting at the Cossacks, they were catching bullets like balls and throwing them back. Or even better they did by stretching the cloth over the waters of the river of Samara, and sat there playing cards and sailed like that. People say that the Cossacks sailed to some foreign land this way.[27]

As for the motifs of Cossack bravery and their wealth, they, along with the "Catching of bullets" and "Magic transportation by a cloak" motifs, will be addressed in section 4.2.[28] The "Cossack lands" motif will be discussed in section 4.4.

Type 4 (*"Cossacks are known as "Kyyi" since ancient times"*).

The legend featuring this type was collected from Osyp Shut' in September 1888, in the Katerynoslav region. At the beginning, the informant describes the earlier existence of the Cossacks under a different name:

> **Osyp Shut' (A, № 7, excerpt 1):** My uncle Matvii died at the age of 110 (in 1852). He used to tell me, that from the outset Zaporozhians had been known as *Kyyi* and did not live here, but somewhere in the woods near Kyiv. They were called *Kyyi*

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[26] See Appendix B (№ 2).

[27] Manzhura, p. 133.

[28] See Types 650-699 "Supernatural power or knowledge" in *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*. Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (FF Communications № 3), trans. and enlarged by Stith Thompson, 2nd ed. (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1961), pp. 225-239. Also see the "Magic transportation by cloak (cape)" (D 1520.6) motif with known Spanish and other European parallels in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 6, p. 83.

> because they committed the acts of brigandry being armed with wooden poles (*kyi*)...[29]

In the second motif, the emergence of a new name, status and privileges (such as land ownership) is ascribed to the contacts between the Cossacks and the monarch. This account by Shut' refers to Polish kings and Russian tsars being Cossacks' patrons and conveys popular folk idea of special relations between the monarch and the Cossacks:

> **Shut' (A, № 7, excerpt 2):** ...People tell that some prince Amlin, or something, began to call them to join his army and told them: "If you assist me in overcoming the Turks— then I shall give you the steppes, ravines and woods and the entire land in the low flow of Dnipro: you will live as free men over there." So, they assembled everybody they could and overwhelmed the Turks on the battlefield. Upon this victory Amlin gave them Dnipro and steppe below the rapids and they became known as Zaporozhians. They had forty regiments and a forty thousand-strong army...[30]

The motif of the prince's solemn promise of freedom and lands to the Cossacks is accompanied by several orther motifs: the already mentioned "Injustice, the monarch's deadliest sin," as well as the "Lost documents," "Invincibility of the Cossacks" and "Clemency to the weak," brought together to describe the final demise of the Cossack order:

> **Shut' (A, № 7, excerpt 3):** ...When Amlin had been giving them the land he told the Cossacks as follows: "This land will be yours as long as the sun shines" and Tsarina Kateryna responded to the Cossacks when they brought up this argument: "Show me the document, which proves that this land is yours." They tried to find one, but to no avail. When the Russian army faced Zaporozhians, *kharakternyky* came forward. "Well, — they were saying, — shoot us for we are not giving up!" The Russians lifted the guns, aimed at the Cossacks, and the guns — clank, clank, clank! — and all of them misfired. Russian soldiers checked them, and saw that the gunpowder was wet... "Well, — they were saying, even the devil will probably fail to overwhelm you, Cossacks." *Kharakternyky* intended to continue resisting the Kateryna's army, but the rest of

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[29] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, pp. 89-90 (on page 89). See Appendix A (№ 7).
[30] Ibid.

> the Host said: “Give up, brothers, because we have parents and children: Russians will slaughter them if you do not give up.” So they gave up.[31]

Overall, this text connects the Cossacks’ origin to war and focuses upon Cossacks’ brave and faithful service to an ancient monarch, who in turn fulfills his promise to grant them freedom and lands.[32] Even though it is virtually impossible to establish a certain connection between this folklore text and written literature, similar motifs were quite popular with historical and political writings in early-modern Europe, such as the “Golden Charter” of Alexander the Great, and the legendary gifts of the Roman Emperor Augustus to the Slavic princes.[33]

Type 5 (“*Cossacks are known as “Chornohory” since ancient times*”). This legend type was collected from Dmytro Bykovsky in June 1894 in the Katerynoslav region. In this account, the informant points out that Cossacks emerged out of sixteen people, who, long ago, used to live upstream, rather than downstream of the Dnipro’s rapids:

> **Bykovsky (A, № 8, excerpt 1):** From the beginning there were only sixteen of Zaporozhians and they were called *Chornohory* (the people from the Black Mountain— *R. S.*). Back then they used to live some place above the rapids, in the woods, through which a busy road had been laid…[34]

Similar to the above-mentioned texts, this account features such motifs as “Cossacks as brigands,” “Invincibility of the Cossacks” (Cossacks as *kharakternyky*), and “Ruler’s promise of freedom and lands”:

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[31] *Narodna pam’iat’ pro kozatstvo*, pp. 89-90.

[32] See the “Tribal characteristics— bravery or cowardice” (A 1675) and “Tribal characteristics— warfare” (A 1676) motifs, which fall under the general type “Characteristics of various people in industry and warfare” in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, p. 247; vol. 6, p. 93. For *brigandry* see the “Why Russians like thefts and robberies” (A 1674.2) motif with one known Lithuanian parallel (Balys: Legends № 100) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, p. 247.

[33] Aleksandr Mylnikov, *Kartina slavianskogo mira: vzgliad iz vostochnoi Evropy. Etnogeneticheskie legendy, dogadki, protogipotezy XVI – nachala XVIII veka* [A picture of a Slavic world: ethnogenetic legends, guesses and hypotheses] (St.- Petersburg: Rossiiskaia akademiia nauk, 1996), pp. 46-66; Serhii Kopylov, “Istoriia slovi’ans’kykh narodiv v istorychnykh tvorakh XVIII st.” [The history of Slavic peoples in the historical works of the 18th century], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (UIZh), 1 (430), Jan.-Feb. 2000: 45-60 (on pages 46-48). Reference is also being made to the works of Jan Długosz, Maciej Stryjkowski, Dmytro Tuptalo and other authors.

[34] *Narodna pam’iat’ pro kozatstvo*, pp. 88-89. See Appendix A (№ 8).

Bykovsky (A, № 8, excerpt 2): ...Once upon a time a Tsar received a report that that road was raided by brigands and dispatched the troops to put an end to brigandry. In days the army reached that wood and marched straight to its heart... It was marching and marching and suddenly heard the knocking and rustling... The servicemen with the detail looked up and they saw the huts on the oak-trees, and *Chornohory*, who were looking down at them. General spoke to them asking:
—What sort of people are you?
—We are *Chornohory*!
—Get down from those oak-trees!
—And what do you want from us?
—We demand your surrender, that's what!
—You know what, dear fellows, — the Chieftain went on, — we are baptized in the same faith as you are, so, we are unwilling to fight against you, and you better go with the name of the Lord to the place you have come from!
General shouted to the soldiers: shoot them! They began shooting, somehow missing *Chornohory* and shooting at each other, and all ended up fallen like sheaves...
The Tsar had to come there in person and called three of the *Chornohory*. They came. He aimed a pistol at them...but something happened and he lost the command of his arms. The Tsar grabbed and twisted, and then begged: "Oh, brothers, stop harassing me!" "Very well, — they replied, — we shall lift the spell, but for this you will give us the document, which proves the boundaries of our land and guarantees that everybody, who enters it falls under our jurisdiction!" The Tsar promised to meet the conditions and at once regained the command of his limbs. He gave the requested document to the Cossacks, which defined the boundaries of the Cossack land as one hundred miles above and one hundred miles below the rapids. When they established the Host on those rapids, many people began to come and join them. That was precisely when the land became known as the Cossack land and people, who lived there became known as Zaporozhians...[35]

Type 6 ("*In the ancient times Cossacks were known as Khozary*").

Two texts, which name ancient *Khozary* as ancestors of Ukrainian Cossacks, constitute a separate legend type, and indicate connection between 19th century Ukrainian folklore and certain literary works. The following discussion is dedicated to the "Khazarian myth" and its place in historical writings and folk legends.

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[35] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, pp. 88-90.

The roots of this motif must be sought in the early 18th century. It emerged within the millieu of educated Cossack bureaucracy of Hetmanate as a result of a local adaptation of the Polish "Sarmatian myth." According to Ukrainian scholar Yuri Lutsenko:

> …the Sarmatian myth is associated with the notion of the ostensible descent of the upper strata of Slavic nations from ancient Sarmaty. It became firmly established in Polish Renaissance historiography and played a considerable role in the development of Polish society, constituted as it did the foundation of an ideology and cultural mentality commonly referred to as Sarmatism. The Sarmatian myth gradually evolved from an ethnogenetic into a class myth whereby the Polish nobility justified its privileges as an estate. Only nobility was now proclaimed to be of Sarmatian descent... As these notions spread from Poland to Ukraine a new type of literary ideal crystallized, that of the Sarmatian noble, ancient inhabitant of the Ukraine, patriot of his native land...a pious Christian and brave warrior... The image of such an ideal hero took shape in heraldic and panegiric poems, in prefaces and dedications.[36]

Later on, it will be shown that the search for the ancient and glorious progenitors of Ukrainian people also affected Ukrainian folklore. However, it took forms, which were quite different from those of literature.

The participation of the Cossacks in the political and cultural life of Ukrainian society since the early 17th century and its transformation into a new elite of a Cossack Ukraine, resulted in a necessity of creating an adequate ideology, which would emphasize and promote a new role for the Cossacks as the elite of their society and its state. Consequently, in the early 1700s, there emerged the so-called "Khazarian myth,"[37] which was largely modeled after the Polish "Sarmatism," but with some significant changes, which reflected upon the peculiarity of development of Ukrainian society and Ukrainian statehood. According to this story the Cossack nation originated from the *Khozary*, an ancient nation, known for such qualities as bravery, warlike spirit, love of fatherland and freedom. As Lutsenko points out, "this...myth identified the history of the Ukraine with that of the Cossacks... [and] focused attention on those moments in the history of the country in which the Cossack role was most conspicuos."[38]

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[36] See the *Introduction* by Yuri Lutsenko in *Hryhorij Hrabjanka's "The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj." Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature*, vol. IX (Harvard: Harvard UP; Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University, 1990), xxiii.

[37] In this case we are talking about "myth" as a "literary concept," rather than the concrete folkloric text.

The author of the *Chronicle of the Colonel of Hadiach Hryhorii Hrabianka* (1710), keen to defend the rights of the Cossack officers before the Russian government, was the first to present the "Khazarian myth" as a comprehensive system. He describes the origin of the Cossacks in the following way:

> The people of Little Rus' land, called the Cossacks, bears its name from the ancient tribe of Skify, called Alany after the Alan mountains, [and] from the river, [which] flows through the land of Bukhara to Khvalynsk [Caspian] sea, — they are called Khozary, who descend from the tribe of the first son of Japheth Homer…[they] fought against Media and Armenia, where they took many trophies…much later [they] served to Romans, and from them acquired much recognition and treasures for their courage and notable bravery in battles…[39]

Though this myth emerged within the milieu of the educated segment of the Cossack population, it eventually became part of the popular culture as well.[40] This can be discerned not only from folklore texts, which have similar composition and proclaim somewhat similar ideas, as is the case in the texts, where the origins of the Cossacks are traced to *Chornohory* and *Kyyi*, but from the texts, which directly name *Khozary*[41] as the predecessors of the Ukrainian Cossacks.

In due course, while being both adopted and adapted to suit the agenda of the vernacular culture, this motif underwent certain transformations. Two changes in the story are evident.

First of all, the geography of the folk texts is different from Hrabianka's narrative. In fact, they depict the lands, which traditionally were under the control of the Zaporozhian Host, rather than referring to the lands of the Cossack Hetmanate farther north. Secondly, the description of the Cossacks' origin in this variant, told by "an old man from Korsun," portrays the historical events differently from the Hrabianka's writing:

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[38] Lutsenko, xxiv.

[39] *Hryhorij Hrabjanka's "The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj,"* pp. 300-301 (pages 3-5 in O. Bodiansky's 1854 edition).

[40] In an Introduction to the Ukrainian edition of Hrabianka's *Chronicle*, Lutsenko mentions that even though the original of this chronicle was not preserved, there are at least 50 known copies of this work. Also, there were likely many copies and fragments, which have not survived to this day, but must have circulated both in written and oral forms.

[41] Historical *Khozary* were a Turkic tribe. Living in the steppes over the river Volga (7th-10th centuries AD), *Khozary* forced Rus' and other neighboring people to pay them tribute. Their state was vanquished in the aftermath of the military campaign by Prince Sviatoslav of Rus' at 968 AD.

> **"Old man" from Korsun (A, № 5, excerpt 1):** The Zaporozhian Cossacks first were known as *Khozary* and they lived in Kaniv, then in Romankiv, then in Old Kodak, and later on they lived below Nikopol. There were three of them at the king's service. The king paid two of them for their services with money, and told to the third one: "So, I have paid to two of you with money, and you, if you want, go to Kaniv and establish a settlement over there." So, the third one went and established the Sich (the Cossack encampment— *R. S.*) over there.[42]

The account by Mykyta Korzh also identifies *Khozary* as the ancient name, used for the Zaporozhians:

> **Mykyta Korzh (A, № 6, excerpt 1):** I cannot positively establish when exactly and from what time the Zaporozhian Host came into being. However, when my ancestors came down to live on this borderland it had already existed over there and according to an oral account, passed from my great-grandfather, grandfather and father, I was informed that the mentioned Zaporozhian Cossacks in the times of old were known as *Khozary*. Because their main residence was located over Dnipro river and beyond the rapids, they were later called "those, who live beyond the rapids" (Zaporozhians) during the time of Hetman Khmelnytsky…[43]

In the story told by Mykyta Korzh, one can find only a vague reference towards the origin of the Cossacks, who are portrayed as *Khozary*. This variant, collected by Kulish, also emphasizes the fact, that long ago, the Cossacks were known as *Khozary*, who had initially lived above the rapids of the Dnipro, and later came down the river to establish a new Host and a new encampment— *the Sich*. Moreover, while presenting this text Kulish, himself, attempts to analyze this source from a historical point of view. He pays specific attention to those "three, at the king's service," considering them the three hosts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the Host of a Crown, the Host of the Duchy of Lithuania, and the Host of Zaporozhian Cossacks.[44] Even though it is tempting to accept this assumption by Kulish it should be mentioned, that even the collector of this text, himself, was not entirely sure about his own hypothesis. Except for being a reference to three hosts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the mention of those "three at the king's service" could have also been the echo of any literary legend, which were numerous in early-modern Europe, and which frequently explored the motif of three brothers-founders (e.g., Lech, Czech and Rus as founders of the Polish, Czech and Ruthenian people). It is also entirely possible that the origin of this motif lies in folklore, or vernacular culture, rather than in the literary culture— this possibility is backed up by similar motifs in the folklore of other European peoples.[45]

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[42] Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Alexandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 150. See Apendix A (№ 5).

[43] *Ustnoe povestvovanie byvshago zaporozhtsa, zhitelia Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii i uezda, seleniia Mikhailovki, Nikity Leontievicha Korzha* [The oral account of the former Cossack Mykyta Korzh] (Odessa: V Gorodskoi tipografii, 1842), p. 10. See Appendix A (№ 6).

What is rather obvious is that both folklore variants are in compliance with each other and the *Chronicle* by Hrabianka, in regard to a "Cossack" being a modern name for the ancient *Khozary*. In fact, both folklore texts contain abbreviated explanations of the above-mentioned phenomenon, which in the 1854 edition of Hrabianka's *Chronicle* is shown as the following: "The warriors of Little Rus' did change their Khazarian name [only] a little, and are called "the Cossacks" instead of *Khozary*."[46]

Type 7 ("*A remarkable boy as founder*").

Among the texts about the origin of the Cossacks there is a legend, which combines the motifs common in the classical European myths, legends and tales with the special motifs, characteristic to the folk prose about Ukrainian Cossacks. Like the legend, told by Kovalenko, this text features the Cossack hero, crediting him with foundation of the Cossack society. However, unlike the already discussed legend, this legend turns in more "classical hero" motifs.

This legend was recorded in 1906, in the Voronezh region, where Russian and Ukrainian cultures mix. It relates 1) the events, which precede the birth of the "culture hero"; 2) the birth of the hero; 3) the testing of the hero's power/the challenge, presented to the hero; 4) the heroic and miraculous deeds of the hero, and 5) the establishment of a social order by the hero.

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[44] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 150.

[45] See the "Brothers as creators" (A 15.2) motif in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, p. 67. Also see "A miraculous birth of one brother, two brothers, three brothers" (K 300-303) types in Afanas'ev, p. 155; and the "Extraordinary companions" (AT 513) type, which date back to Greek and Roman oral and literary traditions. See William Hansen, *Ariadna's Thread: A Guide to International Tales, Found in Classical Literature* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University P, 2002), pp. 426-427.

[46] *The Chronicle of Colonel of Hadiach Hryhorii Hrabianka* (1854), p. 15.

It begins with a knight[47] on a journey, who finds a magic object,[48] burns it, and brings the ashes home:

> **Anonymous, collected by H. Boiko (A, № 11, excerpt 1):** Once upon a time a knight went on a voyage. He went out to a wild steppe and found a chopped off head lying on the road, which was so wonderful and handsome, and which probably belonged to some knight, who had fallen in battle with the foe. So, the traveling knight approached it and said as follows:
>
> —What a shame that you, who had seen so many battles, would fight no more!..
>
> —The head said "No," — said, — I was fighting and will fight again!..
>
> —Oh, — said the traveler, — there is much more to you [than a mere look]...
>
> He drove to the bushes, gathered some firewood and burned the head… He took a glance at the ashes where the head had lain, — such a handsome one that one's eyes could hardly be taken away from it. So, he picked the ash and wrapped it into his kerchief.
>
> Upon returning home from the business of his the knight came home and put that ash on the bench and left it there. …[49]

The next motif deals with a miraculous conception by a maiden as a result of contact with a magical object:[50]

> **Boiko (A, № 11, excerpt 2):** … And that knight had a daughter, already a maiden. She took that package from the bench, unwrapped it and was captivated with the sight— it looked so fine. "I am tempted to try its taste." She tasted it and eventually got

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[47] For the "knight," see the motif *P50ff in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 6, p. 447.

[48] The talking head as a magic object in this text might represent a literary motif, which found its way to the milieu of the folk after the mediation of *Tales, told by Aleksandr Pushkin* (see *Ruslan i Liudmila*). At the same time, this motif is not found among other Salvic tales' motifs, which deal with "magic objects." See motifs 560-649 in *Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov*, pp. 159-168.

[49] *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O. I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), pp. 190-191 (on page 190). See Appendix A (№ 11).

[50] See *Parthenogenesis*. Aleksandr Veselovskii, among other pre-historic types and motifs names "the miraculous birth of a child from the grains, consumed by a woman," a birth from "eating some red fruit," "meat of an eel," etc. Also, this author makes a reference to the religious legend of the "three apples of St. Anthony." See Aleksandr Veselovskii, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii. Poetika siuzhetov* [Complete collection of Veselovskii's works. Poetics of the types], vol. 2 (St.- Petersburg, 1913), p. 59.

> pregnant. In a year she gave a birth to a son so handsome, as that [burnt to ashes] head used to be. ...[51]

As we can see from this text, the hero's father is a "knight" (though not a "king"), and the hero's mother is a "virgin" (though not of royal origin). She consumes ashes, made from the body of a fallen knight— and the miraculous conception takes place.[52] According to Natalie M. Underberg, hero's mother being a virgin (motifs A 511.1.3 and A 511.1.3.3) echoes both the Christian and Buddhist tradition. In the former, Saint Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary, was barren and conceived only after fervent prayer. Her daughter is known as the mother of Jesus Christ, whom she miraculously conceived due to Divine intercession.[53]

"Ashes" in our legend can be arguably treated as something sacred (i.e., the remains of a fallen hero give birth to a hero's successor) or, on the contrary, as a "waste," which, however, possesses certain magical properties. In other tales, the magic object also assumes a dispensible form. One of the Russian tales of magic speaks of a "kitchen waste," which, after it has been taken outside the house, is consumed by a cow. This cow gives birth to a mighty boy— a hero and a helper to the local prince. Similar motifs are also found in folklore of other European peoples.[54]

Association of Cossacks to "knights," rather than "kings" or hereditary nobility, persists throughout the folk prose about Cossacks. In my opinion, this has to do with a specific "warrior" ethos of the Cossack society, which, in part, was inherited by Cossack descendants and entered the lore of other social groups. Despite certain differences between this legend and the heroes' depiction in international folklore, the featured Ukrainian motifs, which deal with pregnancy and delivery of the culture hero by a maiden, reveal remarkable commonalities between the international and Ukrainian Cossack heroes.

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[51] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 190.

[52] See the following motifs: 1) "The hero's mother is a royal virgin"; 2) "his father is a king"; and 3) the circumstances of his conception are unusual" in Baron Raglan, p. 174.

[53] S.v. "The Hero Cycle," by Natalie M. Underberg in *Archetypes and Motifs in Folklore and Literature. A Handbook*, ed. Jane Garry and Hasan El-Shamy (Armonk, N.Y; London, UK: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 11-12.

[54] Reference made to various variants of the "Ivan, the mighty knight, the cow's son" tale. See *Narodnye russkie skazki A. N. Afanas'eva* [Russian folk tales by Afanas'ev], ed. V. Propp et. al., vol 1 (Moscow, 1957), №№ 136-137. Also see the "The miraculous birth of two brothers (one brother, three brothers)" (K 300-303) motifs in Afanas'ev, vol. 1, № 155; *Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov*, pp. 108-109. For other European and world parallels see the "Supernatural origin of hero, magic conception" (Z 216) (Indian) motif and the "Hero born out of wedlock" (Z 255) motif in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, pp. 564-565. Also see an Icelandic motif "Birth of a child from eating an apple" (675*) in *The Types of Folktale. Classification and Bibliography*, p. 237.

Those commonalities continue with the motifs, which describe the baby's coming of age, his work as a shepherd and his election as Chieftain by his peers:

> **Boiko (A, № 11, excerpt 3):** ...So, her son grew and grew bigger. Soon he became quite a boy. Once upon a time children and adults were taking herd to a pasture. The son of the knight's daughter, even though a child himself, seeing that children took part in taking the herd to the pasture, begged his mother to let him participate in taking cattle grazing. So, he got permission to go. So, those shepherds were together in charge and there was no consent among them: the adults were sending the youngsters to do all the job of halting and chasing the cattle without doing their share of work. At some point the son of the knight's daughter said:
> —Let us elect the Chieftain from among us, who will be in charge of our party.
> Everybody began mocking him— you know; he was way too young for such a motion. But he persisted, saying that a Chieftain had to be elected and that's that!
> —Very well, — the shepherds said, — how then shall we elect one?
> —Let us do the following, — the boy said, — let each of us try to hush off the frogs, who are croaking in the lake. The one who achieves that will be our Chieftain.
> One shouted, another screamed, one after another — nobody managed to hush the croaking of the frogs. At that point the shepherds said smiling to the boy:
> —Now it is your turn.
> Upon hearing this, the boy approached the lake and shouted: "Hush!" — and all the frogs went numb...
> So, that was how that boy became a Chieftain and such a concord was established among the shepherds that everybody was amazed.[55]

The election scene of a new leader responds to one of the important hero's features, namely the "testing of hero's identity/character/strength," and offers a combination of motifs: the "unpromising hero," the "shepherd as a hero," the "animal (object) indicates election of a ruler (leader)."[56] The "unpromising hero" represents, arguably, one of the most popular motifs in hero tales, and is found in the oral tradition of many peoples. The humble status of a future hero is customarily contrasted with the picture of his/her future elevation to prominence.

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[55] *Lehendy i perekazy*, p. 190. See the "Unpromising hero" (L 100) and "Shepherd as a hero" (P 412) motifs in *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*, p. 89. Also see the "Animal (object) indicates election of a ruler" type (H 171ff) with a known Irish parallel in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 6, p. 248.

The "shepherd as a hero" motif represents a variation of the previous motif. Traditionally, the list of future hero's occupations includes "servant," "shepherd," "wood-cutter" and so forth. As for the "animal (object) indicates election of a ruler" motif, it is well known, both in literary and folklore traditions. As an example, I would like to mention the famous legend about King Arthur's election ("the sword in the stone" or "the sword as a magic object" motifs) and the account by Titus Livy and Tacitus ("twelve eagles predict twelve centuries of Rome's glory" motif).[57]

In this case, the motif which follows the culture hero's coming of age and his election Chieftain, bears strong resemblance to Christian legends— it is the motif of God's retribution for a person's sins:

> **Boiko (A, № 11, excerpt 4):** ... Once upon a time the Chieftain was lying in the hut, and suddenly he saw a man walking along the road, and around his neck, — and that was either inflicted as God's punishment or done by some evil person, — a huge serpent was hanging. Without looking at that man the Chieftain told his men:
> —At once go and bring that person before me.
> They went and called upon him: //
> —Come, our Chieftain is summoning you!
> That poor man did not want to come and continued walking as he had done before.
> Those dispatched to run an errand came back to the Chieftain:
> —He does not want to come before you, — they told the Chieftain.
> —Go and make him to come before me at any cost.
> The men caught up with the person, assailed by a serpent:
> —Our Chieftain demands you to come before him.
> After that the wanderer returned and approached the Chieftain.
> And the Chieftain shouted at the serpent:
> —Go, — he shouted, — you, unholy beast, to where you must go and cease sucking the blood of the Christians!
> The viper fell on the ground and crawled away.

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[56] Butler, p. 29.

[57] My point is that those accounts must have been a part of contemporary (i.e., Roman and Anglo-Saxon) folk traditions, and, later on, became appropriated by the authors of various literary works.

> —And you, man, go on your business, and that serpent will torment you no more...[58]

In this episode the Cossack hero is credited with special powers, which are implicitly shown as coming from God. This is the only reference to Divine presence in this text. It supposedly means that God favors the Cossack leader-the founder of the Cossacks, respectively extending his blessing onto the entire group. However, this is only a hypothesis, because the lack of information prevents me from making more substantial claims regarding this matter.

The final part of this story contains an already familiar motif, which shows the Cossacks as having originated from the shepherds.[59] At the end, this legend evokes an extremely popular motif of the Cossack supernatural characteristics. As in the preceding texts, this is achieved by employing the motif of the Cossacks as *kharakternyky*:

> **Boiko (A, № 11, excerpt 5):** ...Once upon a time one lad faulted terribly before other shepherds and was apprehended.
> —Hang them on the rope, made out of cow excrements, — the Chieftain ordered.
> —Is it going to support him sufficiently? — the shepherds asked the Chieftain.
> —Hang him high, — the Chieftain responded.
> They hanged the man and he died... After that the shepherds became to be afraid of their leader: "He can, — the conversation persisted, —hang us all like that." And they decided to escape from the Chieftain. But whenever they ran, they got surrounded with water— it hampered their way. Nothing could be done and they returned to the Chieftain.
> —Well, guys, — the Chieftain commented, — it looks like that we have to live together from now on.
> So, they stretched the cloth on the water, set a bonfire on the top of it to make porridge, then mounted the cloth and sailed away

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[58] See the types of "Religious Tales" such as "God repays and punishes" (840) and the "Punishment of men" (842 B*) with the known parallels in Finnish, Estonian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Russian folklore (for instance, the motif "Serpent at the wedding"). Reference is made to *The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*, pp. 282-283. Also see the "Task: making a rope of sand" (H 1021.1) motif and a German and a Norwegian legends about the "Devil" and the "Rope of sand" in the *Ariadna's Thread*, pp. 256-257.

[59] Manzhura, p. 133. Appendix A (№ 10).

> looking for the better place to live. Those were the shepherds, from whom the first Zaporozhians descended.[60]

At the end of this legend, the anonymous informant employs two closely related motifs of supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks: the ability to control natural phenomena (water, woods, etc.),[61] and the motif of "sailing the cloth (cloak)."[62] As will become evident later on, these two motifs are probably the most popular ones, dealing with the supernatural abilities of the Cossacks. They are present in the scores of texts on collective "Cossack characteristics" as well as in the texts, which reflect on the profiles of their anonymous, fictional, semi-fictional leaders, as well as the leaders, whose existence is confirmed by historical sources.

In conclusion to the discussion of Cossacks' origin in Ukrainian folk prose, I would like to emphasize several important points. The folklore texts which deal with this topic had been collected between the late 1820s and the early 1900s. This was a time when there were closer contacts between the vernacular and learned cultures, brought about by a growing literacy among the people and an immense interest in folklore on the part of many intellectuals. Such contacts between cultures resulted in the popularization of certain legend types and motifs, which became widespread in both oral and literary traditions. However, the growing contacts between those traditions at often made it difficult to identify the cultural origins of specific texts.

For instance, the legend about the "Khozarian" origin of the Cossacks was published by Kulish in 1856, and the literary work, which had introduced this motif a century and a half earlier, was first published in 1854. Consequently, a question surfaces: could it be that the exchange of ideas between those works occurred only in the mid-1800s? Or was this the result of a gradual adaptation of this motif throughout the 1700s and the first half of the 1800s?

In the light of what has been said earlier, the view, according to which the borrowing and adaptation of this motif might have taken place in the mid-1800s, can be discarded. In the case of the legend published by Kulish (1856), we most definitely deal with the result of a century-long transformation of an original story. This concept made its way into the realm of folklore and, eventually, became reduced to a mere motif, which almost completely ignored the original concept offered by Hrabianka (1710).

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[60] *Lehendy i perekazy*, p. 191. See Appendix A (№ 11). Also see Types 650-699 ("Supernatural power or knowledge") in *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*, pp. 225-239; the "River rises to prevent army from crossing" (F 932.8.2) motif with a known Irish parallel in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, p. 238; also see the previously mentioned motif "Magic transportation by cloak (cape)" (D 1520.6) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 2, p. 258.

[61] Martynovych, pp. 257-259. Appendix A (№ 3).

[62] Manzhura, p. 133.

However, cases like this one, pose a great challenge to scholars, who must consider every possibility of such contacts between the texts, and who conduct the research on a text-to-text basis.

Unlike the literary texts, which strive to assert the origin of the Cossack estate from the glorious ancient peoples, who left their trace in written history, most of the folklore texts do not demonstrate this preoccupation with establishing a lineage between them and the peoples of the ancient past. Apparently, for the bearers of folklore, the glory of the Cossacks and their host constituted an important issue. However, the peasants, without formal schooling, did not possess a sense of historical chronology, and their way of thinking was not impaired by the ideology and concepts of the learned culture. Consequently, for the 19th century Ukrainian peasants and their like, glory was not inherited and sanctified by antiquity, but rather achieved as a result of valiant efforts and demonstration of people's best qualities. That was precisely the way for the "poor captives" and "shepherds" to achieve the status of members of a distinct warrior group, which offered them remarkable freedom and liberties, as well as the right to rule over their own land.

Keeping in mind that both literary works and folklore are the products of a specific social and cultural milieu, this makes them subjects to people's specific agendas. Respectively, they may reflect differently on the same historical event, personality, various phenomena of people's life and so forth. In my opinion this explains why both literary works and folklore often employ different motifs or employ similar motifs differently (e.g., "Khozarian" origins of the Cossacks).

It is well worth noticing that in the majority of the texts on the origin of the Cossacks, their appearance is connected to a person of some monarch, either real or fictitious, who is customarily presented as the Cossacks' patron. The relations between the monarch and the Cossacks in folklore are usually viewed through the prism of justice/injustice, generosity and other monarch-like features. Unlike the literary works, which were often written as panegyrics to the rulers, the folklore texts do not shy away from portraying them as petty, unjust, vindictive, etc. Such features are also characteristics for folk prose texts, which deal with the historical figures in Cossack history and with natural/supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks. Therefore, this motif can be considered as a popular invention of the folk.

Overall, the folk prose texts on the origin of the Cossacks convey a very important idea. According to this idea the Cossacks, as people and their organization, emerged during times of trouble (war against the Turks or some other enemy) as an association of free men, who were led by people of exceptional abilities from among them. For their service, they were entitled to various privileges. Their origins may have been modest, but their new status and responsibilities made them prominent. Those motifs constituted an integral part of the oral tradition about the Cossacks, from which it entered into a larger realm of Ukrainian folklore.

4.2 Cossack characteristics

This section discusses the natural and supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks. These characteristics are the focus of key motifs in 22 texts, which form Appendix B of this dissertation. Some of the types and motifs, which deal with the supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks, can be found in the other appendices as well.

The material in this section can be organized into two main groups. The first group includes the texts, which deal with the natural characteristics of the Cossacks, and the second one contains the texts, which include the types and motifs about the "supernatural" features of the Cossacks. However, certain characteristics, such as personal appearance or bravery, may often be presented as transitional between natural and supernatural features.

a. Natural characteristics of the Cossacks in types and motifs

Among legends, which describe various natural characteristics of the Cossacks, there are simple texts, which usually deal with one certain feature of the Cossacks' character or element of their appearance, and complex texts, which explore two or more of their characteristics.[63] Some of the texts in this group are also composed in the way that allows listeners to form their own opinion or attitudes towards the main hero/heroes. These latter texts closely resemble moral didactic stories, aimed at the discussion of people's merits and vices, which are popular in the folklore and literary traditions of various European peoples.[64]

One possible way to look at the natural (or human-like) characteristics of the Cossacks is to sort among the types and motifs, distinguishing those that primarily deal with physical features (strength, stature, clothes, weapons, etc.) and those, which explore the moral values (bravery, lust/chastity, misteriousness, etc.). This division is somewhat artificial, because in folklore in general, and in the folklore about the Cossacks in particular, the physical characteristics of a hero/heroine are traditionally presented to extol or, at times, to depreciate their moral values. Likewise, as a result of narrator's/audience's aspiration of perfection and/or completeness of the hero's image, the hero's moral values usually stand in direct proportion to his/her appearance. Thus, in folklore a strong person is often portrayed as brave. Also, a strong person is most likely to be portrayed as handsome/beautiful, and the courageous person— as generous.

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[63] For an example of a "simple" text, see "Zaporozhian chastity" in Appendix B (№ 4). For an example of a "complex" text, see "Zaporozhian Cossacks, their ways and customs" in Appendix B (№ 2).

[64] For "merits" see the motif "what makes one a Cossack" in the text "Initiation before the acceptance to the Cossack brotherhood" in Appendix B (№ 1). For "vices" see the motif "drinking is a vice," conveyed by the text "The deceitful evil spirit" in Appendix B (№ 21).

The physical characteristics of the Cossacks are presented through the types and motifs, which frequently balance on the boundary between physical and moral characteristics. For instance, in Ukrainian legends Cossacks are often portrayed as people of immense physical might. Such motifs as the "Cossacks as superb riders," "Cossacks own rich clothing," "Cossack possess fine weapons" and "Cossacks own fine horses" outwardly portray the heroes' natural appearance. Let us review and analyze some examples of how the physical characteristics of the Cossacks were discussed in Ukrainian folk legends.

The first motif of the Cossacks' physical strength and its manifestation in the times of war and peace is presented in the "Tale about Zaporozhian Cossack Vasiurynsky":

> **Kindrat Taranukha (B, № 3, excerpt 1):** ...You know, Vasiurynsky was so strong that when he was taking the Holy Communion at the church, then four men were holding a priest so he would not faint because of that Cossack's heavy breathing. He was such a mighty knight that people were fainting because of the strength of his breath alone...[65]

The above-mentioned motif falls under Types 600-699 ("Persons with extraordinary power") and resembles the "Man so strong that he breaks most of what he gets in touch with" motif (F 610.6).[66] This motif about Vasiurynsky resembles a popular folk image, when many a people are required to pacify an exuberant and mischievous giant. However, in this account collected by Kulish, the helpers must hold (physically support) a person, with whom the "culture hero" interacts. As with similar texts, in the "Tale..." the number of helpers (in this case four) is designed to emphasize the supposed physical power of a hero.

Further emphasis upon this Cossack's physical power in the text is achieved through the portrayal of Vasiurynsky during the times of war:

> **Taranukha (B, № 3, excerpt 2):** ...When the Russians came and started plundering Sich, he asked permission to take a stand on the

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[65] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 141. See Appendix B (№ 3). Compare this motif with the one in Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 159-160 (Appendix B (№ 2): "...Yeah, those Cossacks were mighty! When their encampment of Sich was being demolished, there was a Cossack whose breath was enough to kill a man. When we came to take a communion at the church once, he had the priest almost fainted." This text from Kulish's collection either relates the same story while omitting the name of the hero, or resorts to the popular motif of the Cossacks' strength.

[66] Aarne-Thompson, vol. 3, p. 176.

> tower saying: "We take a stand with our fists only and neither lance nor bullet will be able to do harm to us…"[67]

While pictured as relatively docile during the times of peace, Vasiurynsky's description in wartime resembles popular north European stories of an invincible possessed warrior-*berserker*. The Scandinavian *Ynglinga Saga* describes some of god Odin's men in the following way:

> …His men rushed forward without armor, were as mad as dogs or wolves, bit their shields, and were strong as bears or wild bulls, and killed people at a blow, but neither fire nor iron told upon themselves. These were called *Berserker*.[68]

One can only guess whether the suggested stance against the Russian troops was attributed to this hero's supernatural invincibility or to his immense strength and his bravery of equal proportions. However, the first part of this text rules in favor of the latter option. Overall, "Vasiurynsky Cossack" emerges in folklore as a mighty knight in a very "traditional" European way—physically strong and immeasurably brave.

The motif of Cossack military prowess, which often goes together with the motif of "Cossack bravery," is the image of the "Cossack maiden–warrior," which, though has ancient Indo-European cultural roots (for instance, the Celtic maiden-warriors), likely also draws inspiration from the events of Ukrainian history.[69] "Marusia— the daughter of a Cossack" portrays a caring and obedient daughter, who in times of need, substitutes her sick father and is drafted to military service:

> **Anonymous, collected by Pavlo Chubynsky (B, № 22):** There in one village lived an affluent Cossack. He had a daughter, the most beautiful maiden in an entire village, obedient and respectful of her father. Many lads sought her hand in marriage…
> Once upon a time a Tsar began a war and authorities began to draft recruits…also aged people were drafted. Then came the turn

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[67] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 141.

[68] *The Ynglinga Saga or The Story of the Yngling Family from Odin to Halfdan the Black*. See *Of Odin's accomplishments*, part 6.

[69] Among the popular Ukrainian heroines is the countess from the house of Korecky, who withstood her domain against the enemy's raids, and the wife of Semen Palii, who commanded Palii's regiment during the time of her husband's incarceration.

> to Marusia's father, and he was old and sick, but there were no sons in the family to substitute him…so Marusia told him:
> —Daddy, I will go to war in your stead.
> —What are you talking about, you silly girl?.. You are young — anybody can abuse you… I shall go myself: if I am alive, then I shall return…
> —But how can you go, daddy? You are ill...
> Long after this her father refused to let her go…but she finally went…her father bought her a horse and a uniform and he saw her off to the regiment, and the regiment of hers was sent to a battle right away…Marusia was…like an agile Cossack and when time for action came…she fought like an agile Cossack that she got noticed …for she was young, of impressive stature and beauty, a good rider…cutting scores of the enemies' heads with one stroke of her saber…[70]

Marusia's agility and fighting proficiency can be viewed as a way to describe a Cossack's strength not in its physical dimension, but through the motif of unparalleled fighting skills, which made this maiden superior of many men on the battlefield. It is also important to note how the above-mentioned motifs are combined with Marusia's other positive characteristics, for instance, her description as a "caring and obedient daughter." Evidently, the incorporation of those motifs in the text was meant to enhance the positive impression of this heroine.

Besides the depiction of great deeds by the Cossacks, who possessed notable physical strength, military prowess and personal courage, there are many motifs, which deal with the outward appearance of the Cossacks.

The highly typicized physical description represents one of the cornerstones of the positive attitude, held by the Ukrainian folk towards the Cossacks. In the *memorate*, collected by Panteleimon Kulish from a "bee-keeper from Kremenchuh," the motif of "Cossack strength" ("bending iron bars around their neck") and the motif of "glamorous appearance" ("them having so long a moustache that it curled around their ears"), must have resulted in the sheer admiration of the informant, and was likely passed on to his audience.[71]

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[70] Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskо-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai. Materialy i issledovaniia* [The records of ethnographic expedition to Western Russian land], vol. 2 (St. - Petersburg, 1878), pp. 92-95 (on pages 92-93). See Appendix B (№ 22). "Cutting many enemy heads off with one stroke" represents a popular folk motif, employed extensively in folk songs, *byliny* as well as in many genres of folk prose.

[71] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 111-112 (on page 112). See Appendix B (№ 6). For the "moustache so long that it curled around their ears" motif also see Appendix B (№ 2).

In yet another account, Dmytro Iavornytsky's informant relates a hyperbolized description of a Cossack's appearance:

> **Collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky from an "old watchman" from Katerynoslav region (B, № 16):** ...The Cossacks were so huge, that the earth could hardy bear them!.. Any given Cossack had a head, which weighted some 250 pounds! ...And their moustache was so long, that if a Cossack stretched them to both sides, he would not be able to walk through the doors, even though a three-horse carriage would pass easily through those doors.[72]

This *fabulate*'s description of the Cossacks balances on the margins between the legend and the fairy tale, especially in the part, where the Cossack's head is described. Most likely, this motif entered the aforementioned *fabulate* from folklore texts describing the typical knight in Ukrainian and other Slavic folklore— the image, I shall discuss later on in this chapter. It is also quite likely that this motif's borrowing and incorporation occurred deliberately, and was done by either the Iavornytsky's informant, or by one of his predecessors with the purpose of underscoring the prominence of the Cossacks.

In the *memorate*, collected from the "bee-keeper from Kremenchuh," the physical fitness of the Cossacks is described as such:

> **Kulish from a "bee-keeper from Kremenchuh" (B, № 6):** ...And so well off people those Cossacks were. One could have bent iron bars around their necks. And they would not accept misfits to their group. And those Cossacks grew such a long moustache that it curled around their ears.[73]

The motifs of physical fitness and distinct appearance of the Cossacks are often combined with other motifs, which explore various physical and moral characteristics of members of this group. Yet another example of how the description of the Cossacks as excellent riders served the purpose of portraying the overall positive characteristics of the Cossacks is provided to back up this assertion.

During times when only the nobles served as professional cavalry and mastering the horses was considered a great skill generally limited to noblemen, the portrayal of the Cossacks as superbly skillful horsemen affirmed the idea of their superiority over the common folk and emphasized their equality to the gentry:

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[72] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 189. See Appendix B (№ 16).

[73] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 111-112. See Appendix B (№ 6).

> **Klym Belik (B, № 2):** ...Those people were very energetic! When they were riding their mounts they were sitting in the saddle not like those of our kin, but rather as the lords [accustomed to riding the mounts]: straight as a candle! He was easy to recognize from afar.
>
> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (B, № 5, excerpt 1):** And when a Cossack was walking, he was hardly touching the ground. When they were riding at the fair— they resembled sparks of bonfire! If one Cossack happened to throw the hat down, he would not allow it to touch the ground: he would spur the steed and catch his hat before it touched the ground. And if somebody failed to catch the hat then he would treat his friends with drinks and entertainment. And so courageous were they! I swear to God, some of them were walking without touching the ground! [Sounds of a Cossack walking] — and off he went![74]

While the first story concentrates on the physical abilities of the Cossacks as horsemen, the second one draws similarity between their riding skills and pride— a feature of character, usually "reserved" for nobility. "Pride" represents a moral characteristic of a person, which in turn, is underscored by certain physical factors. For instance, superb horse-riding skills indicated Cossacks as superior to the mass of the peasants and, in a sense, equalized Cossacks with the noblemen. Besides, the "Cossack pride" was emphasized by other material symbols as well:

> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (B, № 5, excerpt 2):** It used to be that every single year Zaporozhian Cossacks from Sich were attending the fair at the town of Smila. They were coming in groups of twelve or thirteen. And they were dressed so nice, God's will be done! They were clad in gold and silver! The hat on each one of them // was made of velvet, red in color, adorned with fashionable horn-like ends, and a ribbon around it— three fingers in width— gray or black; the robe underneath— crimson silk, like fire to your eyes; the overcoat with attachments either navy or sky blue, the pants were of blue broadcloth, so broad that were hanging

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[74] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 156-165 (on page 156). See Appendix B (№ 2); Ibid., pp. 139-140 (on page 139). See Appendix B (№ 5).

> freely at the front; the boots were red; magazine for gunpowder was adorned either with gold or silver: even the belt was clad with gold; saber on the Cossack's side would also be golden— as bright as the sun. And when a Cossack was walking, he was hardly touching the ground…
>
> **Tymofii Rossokha (B, № 7):** …You see, what kind of people the Zaporozhian Cossacks were: they had pants so wide — o-o, my God! Those people were magnificent. They had moustache long enough to be wrapped around their ears…And they had quite forelocks. Such long forelocks, wrapped around their ears twice or thrice with some more hanging down.
> …Those Cossacks were wearing black silken pants. Pants of black, green and other fabric, except white (white pants were customarily worn by Ukrainian peasants, so the Cossacks probably intended to distinguish between the rustic folk and themselves by wearing distinct clothes — *R. S.*)…and those Cossacks wore boots of fine leather: of black and red leather is to say…//
> Their caps were pointy, adorned with tips. The Cossacks of the Zaporozhian Host were so handsome, God gracious! …They were armed: a saber and a pistol…[75]

Again, as it was with the preceding texts analyzed in this section, the motifs of Cossack wealth (such as rich armor and clothing) are accompanied by the informants' explicit admiration of the Cossacks and, implicitly— with Cossacks' lifestyle. It is rather clear that this admiration served as a powerful tool in the conceptualization of the Cossacks as perfect heroes in Ukrainian folklore.[76]

The occupation and behavior of the Cossacks, as they are presented in folklore, serve to express the popular view of the Cossack Host and its specific members. While among the physical characteristics of the Cossacks hardly a single negative feature can be found, the characteristics of the Cossacks' moral values span the spectrum from positive to negative. This duality in the portrayal of the Cossacks in Ukrainian folklore is derived from three main factors. First of all, on a macro level this duality is derived from the differences between the Cossacks and the peasants, which resulted in a certain animosity between the members of both strata. Secondly, on a micro level, the dissatisfaction of the peasants with the Cossacks had been caused by scores of individual contacts, which turned into confrontation and became popularized both as accounts of particular peasant grievances and as attempts to reflect upon the already mentioned differences in the social ethos. Thirdly, and finally, this animosity between Cossacks and non-Cossacks may have been explained by a politically motivated selection of texts, which suited the agenda of a specific folklore collector. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the majority of texts in which the Cossacks are being portrayed in a negative way, come from a collection by Panteleimon Kulish, who tended to blame the Cossacks of the Zaporozhian Host for their presumably destructive role in the political life of the Hetmanate, and the failure of the Ukrainian struggle for statehood during the early-modern times.[77] Nevertheless, an exhaustive analysis of the duality in the folk attitude towards the Cossacks can be conducted only on a "text-to-text" basis.

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[75] Reference made to a "Fancy appearance of Zaporozhian Cossacks" in Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 139-140 (on page 139). See Appendix B (№ 5); Martynovych, pp. 285-286. See Appendix B (№ 7).

[76] The above-cited description is accompanied by phrases, which demonstrate the informant's affection towards Cossacks, exemplified by phrases, like "exuberant," "unrivaled" and "lord-like."

Among the positive moral features of the Cossacks, which are presented by a number of popular motifs, is their faithfulness to a given ruler, bravery in the enemy's face, their skills as clever military tacticians as well as their great sense of humor, described as positive when it is not arrogant and directed against the peasant folk.

In one *chronicate* about clashes between the Cossacks and Polish soldiers and the victory of the former over their adversaries, the leading motif is the Cossacks' service to the Polish King:

> **Dmytro Pohorily (B, № 11):** There is a river called Zhovten'ka somewhere.[78] On its western shore the Polish soldiers quartered, and on the eastern shore Zaporozhian Cossacks had their quarters. It happened that both parties went to a pub for a drink of cheap vodka. Soldiers and Cossacks were drinking with their kinsmen. It also happened that when they got drunk, they would start brawl over the boundaries of their lands and some soldiers or Cossacks would be slain.
>
> And situation went out of control more than once so that they started fighting more fiercely, and it happened that the Cossacks would chase soldiers out of the village, pillage the settlement and leave it behind. So, the soldiers begged the Polish King to establish a permanent boundary between them and the Cossacks.

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[77] Reference is being made to Kulish's political and historical views, in part expressed in his *Materialy dlia istorii vossoedinenia Ukrainy s Rossiei* [Materials regarding the unification of Ukraine with Russia] (1877-78). See the discussion on Kulish's political and historical views in the Introduction.

[78] Perhaps, the informant here is referring to the river of *Zhovti vody* ("The yellow waters"), where the Cossacks defeated the Polish army in spring of 1648.

> So, the King told the Cossacks: "Chase those soldiers down to Warsaw." And so the Cossacks brought Polish soldiers before the King, and the King told the Cossack Chieftain: "How shall I reward you? Here is your reward: from now on when you see a Jew or an affluent man, burn and plunder them." That was the time of Nechai and Khmelnytsky.[79]

The informant refers to actual historical events and tends to explain the origins of the uprising, led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky. As with several other stories, this *chronicate* explores the popular motif of the Cossacks' serving a monarch (in this case, a Polish King) and receiving a prize for their service. What attracts attention in this particular text is that the informant is making an attempt to provide a certain justification of the uprising by invoking the motif of permission from a sovereign to not only to fight against the Polish soldiers, but also to plunder the rich Poles and Jews. This "plunder" motif certainly reflects the realities of the "Khmelnytsky period" (the mid-17th century) as well as the attitudes of some of the 19th century Ukrainian peasantry.

The "reward from the King" motif represents a crucial element in this text. It is introduced to explain to the audience that this particular reward meant permission from the King to the Cossacks to begin an uprising, thus making this act legitimate in the eyes of the people.

In *fabulate* "How the Cossacks captured the Turkish fortress of Azov," the leading motifs are the military expertise and cleverness of the Cossacks ("the Cossacks as capable warriors" and "Cossacks as clever people"). This text employs a popular international motif describing how an army gains an access to a city using a disguise/decoy— a motif, which has been popularized innumerably since Homer's *The Iliad*.[80] As it is in *The Iliad*, trickery in the times of war is shown as a virtue, tantamount to bravery, which circumstance actually equalizes an anonymous Cossack leader with his ancient protagonist— a "clever" Odysseus:

> **P. Stohnii (B, № 12):** This happened when Azov was the Turkish capital and the Turks had many troops there. So, the Cossacks decided to capture this fortress. And so the Cossack Chieftain says:
> —You know what, my brethren? We may not be able to take this stronghold by force, because it is a huge fortress, but magic and

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[79] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 110. See Appendix B (№ 11).

[80] See the "Deception by disguise or illusion" (K 1800) and "Transformation to gain access to enemy's camp, fortress" (D 641.2) motifs. Reference made to Aarne-Thompson, vol. 2, p. 71; vol. 4, p. 428.

> trickery will serve us better in this case. // So, the Cossacks built carriages, hid their weapons inside, got dressed as wandering traders, and their Chieftain— as a merchant and went there. As soon as they were approaching Azov, the Cossacks hid seven, ten or more of their kin in each of their carriages and covered them with hides and away we go. They entered Azov before dusk and parked carriages along the streets. Then the most successful of the Turkish merchants came to them and asked:
> —Well, — he was saying, — brethren, what is that you are selling?
> —We are selling, — the [disguised] Cossacks replied, — some luxurious merchandise: furs of martin, fox and black sable.
> —Well, — the Turkish merchant said, — wait till morning and I shall buy all of your goods.
> —Very well, — the Cossacks responded.
> So, the Turks fell asleep. And all those "martins," "foxes" and "black sables" crawled from their carriages and spread all over the city, starting fires. The Turks rushed to put an end to those fires, but the Cossacks were burning and slaying Turks; so the Turks ran away. When morning came the horde of Turks was gone to devil's mother in Turkey, and Cossacks were rewarded with the city and all the booty.
> That was how the late grandfathers and great-grandfathers related this story to us, and I am telling it to you now.[81]

It is obvious that to Stohnii, the plundering of the sacked city (sacked by trickery at that), poses no dishonor to the Cossacks, who reached their goals. In fact, various literary and oral traditions tend to treat such trickery in war as a manifestation of the commander's superb military skills, especially when the military objectives are fulfilled.

The issue, whether the storyteller was directly familiar with the classical masterpiece of Homer can never be fully resolved, though it seems very unlikely. However, there is no doubt that in this case we are dealing with model portraying the value of trickery in war, popular among various cultures in post-Homerian times. For instance, in the Irish *The Cycles of the Kings* we find a description of trickery (moreover, trickery, associated with magic), which resulted in the capture of one of the fortress of Leinster:

> … [King] Scoriath called a hosting of the men of Munster, and they attacked Dinn Rig, the citadel of Leinster; but they failed to take it and resorted to ruse. Craiptine [the druid] was sent to play

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[81] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, pp. 192-193. See Appendix B (№ 12).

> sleep music on the rampart, while the besiegers lay on the ground with their fingers in their ears. When all within were asleep, the men of Munster stormed the place and slew the defenders.[82]

Two *jocular fabulates* collected by Hryhorii Zaliubovsky in the Volyn' region of the Right-Bank Ukraine, explore "humor" as an essential part of the Cossack character, taking the protagonist and the audience through "real life situations," such as an encounter in the pub and an encounter between a Cossack and a landlord. The main motifs of the first *fabulate* can be described as "nobody can outsmart a Cossack" and "Cossacks as humorous, witty people":

> **Anonymous, collected by Zaliubovsky (B, № 9):** Once in a pub a Cossack bought half-quart of vodka, drank it, took out a piece of sausage and began to eat. And there was another man [drinking in the pub], who said:
> —What cursed a nature do I possess: vodka makes me hungry every time I drink!
> And he repeated this phrase several times, while staring at the Cossack [who was eating].
> The Cossacks finally understood this and says:
> —That is a shame that I have possessed such a diabolic nature that prevents me from giving anything away when somebody is asking for it.[83]

The second story entitled "Why does a Cossack resemble his landlord in appearance?" is a more complex one. On one level, it makes use of the motif "Cossacks as humorous, witty people," just as the first story does. However, besides the above-mentioned motif, the second story by Zaliubovsky exploits the motif of "Cossacks as amorous people." This motif is popular among various genres of Ukrainian folklore, especially in lyrical songs about love, faithfulness and betrayal. As for this *fabulate*, it reflects on the life of Ukrainian people after the demise of the Cossack order and during the spread of serfdom in Ukrainian lands. One of the outcomes of serfdom was the growing number of illegitimate children, fathered by the landlords, particularly from the maidens, serving at the landlords' palaces as maids. In this particular story, the situation appears to be "typical" until the very end, when it is completely reversed, thus giving a distinct satirical spin to the entire story:

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[82] Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings* (London; New York: Oxford UP, 1946), p. 6. A detailed discussion on the use of magic in war will follow later in this chapter (see sections 4.2 and 4.3).

[83] Chubinskii, vol. 2, p. 667. See Appendix B (№ 9).

> **Anonymous, collected by Zaliubovsky (B, № 10):** This story happened in Volyn' region. One Polish landlord had many estates. Once he visited one of his villages, and the secretary of the lord dispatched the Cossack from different village to deliver some papers to his master. As soon as the landlord saw that Cossack—he was amazed: it was as if he were looking at his own reflection. So, he asked that Cossack:
> —Is there any chance that your mother was doing laundry at the estate of my father?
> —"No, not a chance indeed," the Cossack replied, "but my father attended the fireplace at you mother's living quarters for eight year."[84]

In the above-cited text, "the Cossack" character is most likely a servant (*sluha*) or a personal guard (*nadvirnyi kozak*) of the landlord. Thus, in this text we are definitely not dealing with the Cossack from one of the celebrated Cossack units, like the Zaporozhian Host. At the same time, features ascribed to this character point at a certain level of generalization in portraying Cossacks in Ukrainian folklore: characteristics, first used to describe Cossacks on military service eventually became applied while describing other young people. Characteristically, in both texts collected by Zaliubovsky, the description of the main hero as "a Cossack" appeals to the common image of Cossacks as humorous, witty and amorous people.

A *fabulate*, which offers a comical portrayal of the Cossacks' indulgence in alcohol, falls under yet a separate type. This story deals with a transgression, which can clearly be related to the negative characteristics of people. At the same time, it makes use of some supernatural motifs in order to create a humorous, almost comical, picture of how the drunkenness prevented a Cossack from fulfilling his assignment on time:

> **Sozon Lukash (B, № 21):** Once upon a time a Cossack Chieftain dispatched one of his Cossacks to deliver a letter or something to a different Cossack company. So, the Cossack mounted his horse and departed. He was riding and riding until it got late. Suddenly something became visible glowing in the darkness of the steppe. The Cossacks rode in that direction. There he found two willows, growing on both sides of the road. There was a swing stretched

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[84] Chubinskii, vol. 2, p. 641. See Appendix B (№ 10).

between those trees and in it a child, a boy of seven or so, naked and covered with curly hair, was swinging and saying: "S-w-i-n-g! S-w-i-n-g!" —"Whose boy are you?" the Cossack asked. —"That's none of your business," the boy replied. —"You, devil's son! If you will not answer I shall shoot you with my rifle," the Cossack shouted. —"Oh, I am so scared! ...Go on, shoot me!" Then the Cossack said: "O, I see, wait; I shall give you what you have been asking for!" So, that Cossack loaded his gun, dismounted, took an aim and shot "Bang!" And that thing, a child, threw that bullet to the Cossack sleeve saying: "Take this bullet back"... Awe raised hair on the Cossack's head so that his cap began to move! ...The Cossack began running away and that thing was chasing him...//

Suddenly the Cossack saw something like a glowing light in the hut at a distance...and there was neither fence nor sty or stable around it... He ran inside the hut and saw a covered coffin and a candle, but nobody else inside! ...Suddenly the cover from the coffin opened and a dead person rose from it. At that very time the boy, who was chasing the Cossack, ran into the hut and told that corpse: "So and so, I was swinging on the willow and this Cossack...rode to the tree and started an argument with me and then shot me with his rifle." At once the corpse that rose from the coffin shouted: "O, all dead that hear me! Report to me at once!" ...Corpses began to enter the hut! And soon it was filled with them...

Then this the corpse— the master of this hut...approached the Cossack and told him as follows: "if you want to come out alive from our company you have to drink a handful of vodka from each of us; if not then we shall tear you into pieces ..." ...So, the Cossack had nothing else to do, he bowed to those hands and began to drink...//

...Well, that Cossack was drinking till his head went numb...

When he came back to his senses the first rays of sun already fell on the ground.

That Cossack looked around and saw himself in the midst of the wide-open steppe and not a sight of that hut ...And he was sitting high on the willow and his horse was grazing nearby...Upon this he took off the cap from his head, made the sign of cross and said: "Holy, Holy, Holy, art thou O Lord!"

It was a deceitful evil spirit he encountered last night, which tricked him and he was sleeping all night long on the branches of that willow tree...

> He went to the company: gave that letter to the Chieftain and returned to his quarters again.[85]

This motif of rising, walking and talking corpses, who make a person fulfill a task to avert certain death, is rather popular in European folklore.[86] In fantastic tales, evil supernatural beings customarily make use of a hero, forcing him to serve as a horse, to eat or drink with them, and participate in the acts, which copy or make parody of the actions of living beings. However, in the previously-mentioned account, this motif is auxiliary and is used as a mere tool to bring this story to its culmination. With great humor, it leads the audience to a realization that while on errand, the Cossack must have stopped at a pub and got so intoxicated that he dreamed of the evil spirits in his sleep (who were serving him drinks!) The comical aspect of this *fabulate* (in fact, more suitable for an anecdote), is achieved by the scene Cossack's awakening while sitting on a tall tree without remembering what happened to him, in addition to his thinking that he was tricked by an evil spirit. It appears that the main message the informant was trying to convey is that alcohol sometimes emerges as an equivalent to evil spirit, which makes a Cossack break his discipline and not carry out his orders on time (the motif "Cossacks as drunkards").

It has already been mentioned before, that together with the texts which portray the Cossacks, their deeds, and their ethos in a positive way, there are also stories in which the Cossacks are depicted rather negatively. Those texts were most likely products of actual encounters between the Cossacks and "the others" and differences in their cultures.

The first reason for the peasants' antipathy towards the Cossacks was the latter's involvement in highway robberies and other forms of brigandry.[87] While on a general level, the antipathy of the Ukrainian folk towards the Cossacks' successes in raids was richly mixed with envy, the separate *memorates* relate the negative attitude of the informants, who faced the attacks by the Cossacks:

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[85] Martynovych, pp. 191-193. See Appendix B (№ 21).

[86] See the "The living corpse. Revenant is not a specter, but has attributes of a living person"' (E 422) motif. References to German, Scandinavian and Lithuanian parallels can be found in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 2, pp. 444-445.

[87] The fact, that among the robbers were also many former Cossacks, deserters from the Russian and Polish armies, runaway peasants and so forth, did not prevent the Cossacks' reputation from being tarnished. Also, there was a difference (at the time, a rather subtle one) between the highway robbers and *haidamaky* (rebels; brigands) — outlawed fighters against the social and economic oppression in Ukraine. For an example of this theme in *folklore* see Fedir Keida, *Ukrains'kyi fol'klor pro haidamachchynu* [Ukrainian folklore about Haidamaky (Fighters)] (Kyiv: Vyrii, 1999); in *folklore texts*, see Manzhura, p. 133.

> **Klym Belik (B, № 2, excerpt 1):** ...Once, I remember, I was standing in front of the gates [of our house] and saw three of the mounted Cossacks riding, each of them having an extra steed under the burden of sacks, full of silver! //
> ...They were coming from the lands, which were under Poland. The Cossacks told my dad: "Well, Dmytro, we have got enough booty from the raids; it will last us for our lifetime."
> They were plundering not only in Poland: some of ours suffered from them. Neither food nor anything else could be taken bypassing them. My father used to tell, that once they had gone to the Cossack land-beyond-the-rapids (Zaporozhzhia). He went to pay a visit to his brother, who gave my dad two carts full of fish. He told me that when they were coming from Zaporozhzhia they encountered a spear, stuck in front of them on their way. We did not dare to pass that mark for the cursed reeds-men (brigands, who hid in the reeds— *R. S.*) might just jump out and kill us. So, we stopped the bull carts and encountered three fighters on the steeds riding towards us. Two of them remained mounted and the third one came directly to the cart shouting: "Show what you have got in this cart, you, son of a devil! ..."[88]

Stories, like this one, besides conveying negative attitudes towards the attackers, provide interesting details regarding places, methods of attacks as well as discuss other circumstances, which accompanied such encounters:

> **Klym Belik (B, № 2, excerpt 2):** ...The fish in the cart was covered with reeds and had a spear stuck in it. The assailed trader first was looking and looking at what was happening and then, - zing! – he grabbed the spear and pierced the brigand through, — did quite all right too.
> "Come forward as well!" the trader told the two remaining brigands, I will treat you alike!"
> Brigands noticed that the trader had been in tighter places... And they threw down their weapons.
> "Let us burry the fallen," those brigands said, "he was no scum, but a Christian..."
> Upon that they asked the trader: "Who and what are you?"
> "My father called his name," saying, "I visited my brother as guest."

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[88] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 156-165 (on page 157). See Appendix B (№ 2).

> "We do know that Cossack," the fighters replied. "Curse on you! Were you to tell us before the attack that that Cossack is your brother then we would have let you pass." //
> And they rode away.
> Cossacks were that kind of people! If the Cossack did not steal, others would tell him: "For how long are you planning on being a lazy bone? Curse on you for that. Because of you being lazy we cannot afford to drink a single glass of vodka..."[89]

It is worth of noting how the negative attitude of an informant gives way to an almost lyrical reflection, when the situation is finally resolved. In the above-cited text, this effect is achieved through the motif of the "common Orthodox Christian faith," common to both the potential victims and their assailants as well as through the motifs of "blood relationship" and "common acquaintance/friendship" as the elements, which sooth the hostility and lead to reconciliation between the parties. This circumstance allows me to assert that in the eyes of the Ukrainian folk, such acts by the Cossacks, — however bittersweet their results might have been in every single instance, — were generally seen as an integral part of the Cossack lifestyle, their social status and professional ethos.

The image of the Cossacks as defenders of Orthodox Christian faith against the infidels first emerged as a part of Ukrainian Church tradition and the written culture in the early 1600s. Since then, it became fully appropriated by folklore, which resulted in a number of rather peculiar motifs. The idea that it is wrong for an Orthodox Christian to rob his brethren, receives it further development in the next episode about the Cossack attack on Tatar shepherds. In this case, there are no signs of remorse on the part of the original narrator, as well as there is no sign of judgment of Cossack actions on the part of this story's immediate narrator. The entire account is given as an example of a successful operation, which resulted in theft and the murder of an "infidel" Tatar:

> **Klym Belik (B, № 2, excerpt 3):** ...Our relative Yatsko was a Zaporozhian Cossack; he used to tell us as follows. We went — he was saying — to the land of the Tatars beyond the river of Boh... to steal some steeds. And ran into a fair flock of horses! So, I crawled staying unseen towards a Tatar-the guard, sleeping with the harness of his horse twisted around his arm. I pierced him with my lance! And that foe was wearing a bodyarmor... He woke up at once and jumped at me! Had I not had a dagger, that devil's

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[89] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 157-158.

> offspring would cut me dead. But I slit his throat and he fell along dead…[90]

Among the issues which, like a litmus test indicate the peasant folk's attitude towards the Cossacks, is the issue of relations between the Cossacks and women. This topic is customarily exploited by employing such motifs as "Cossack chastity," "Cossack lust," "Cossacks as different from non-Cossacks in relation to women," which fall under the general type "Characteristics of various peoples":

> **Klym Belik (B, № 2, excerpt 4):** …As for the Cossack encampment of Sich no women were allowed on premises. Even if one were a true sister or a mother— they would not be allowed through. That was how those Cossacks were living: lonely as beggars…//
> ...There was one Cossack by the name Nahaets, who had an affair with the Church cantor's wife. Near the encampment of Sich in the village lived a cantor, and with his wife the above-mentioned Cossack had an affair… Nahaets got caught and one of his brethren beat him with a whip and // brought him in front of the Chieftain.
> Well, you know the law: at once the Cossacks chained Nahaets to the poll and beat him with the staffs. The poor Nahaets fell ill much from such a punishment and passed away very soon…[91]

> **Anonymous, collected by Panteleimon Kulish (B, № 4):** One old woman used to tell me that when she was a maiden a Zaporozhian Cossack began to joke around her. And another Cossack, who was standing nearby said to his kin: "Son of the devil! Why are you joking around this maiden? Do you not have a young woman [to court]?"
> "I am not serious about this courting," the first Cossack replied.
> [The first Cossack] took a nice silken kerchief out of his pocket! And said: "Take and wear it, you, devil's daughter. This is to you for my jokes."[92]

The previous texts contain two motifs. The first motif evolves around the issue of the "strange" (to non-Cossacks) ways of Zaporozhian

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[90] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 156-165 (on page 159). See Appendix B (№ 2).
[91] Ibid., pp. 159-160.
[92] Ibid., p. 113. See Appendix B (№ 4).

Cossacks, which prohibited them from marrying and even prevented women to enter their chief encampment. A similar motif can be found in an account by Dmytro Bykovsky, in which the Tsarina asked the Cossacks the following: "How are you managing to live on, you barren Zaporozhian Host, without women?"[93] While Cossacks were viewed as people who never married, they were also perceived as adulterous people, ready to seduce a maiden (see "Zaporozhian chastity" in Appendix B (№ 4) and cheat with married women, as happened in the case of Nahaets.

The second motif explains how the peasant folk viewed Cossack discipline in general, and how this discipline was applied towards the sexual relations. It is noteworthy that an especially strong emphasis is made on the effort by Cossack brethren in bringing an offender to order— in the case of a maiden being courted (B, № 4) another Cossack reproaches his friend and forces him to apologize. In the case of Nahaets, one of his brethren beat him with a whip before turning in the offender to face the merciless Cossack justice.

Among the text in which the Cossacks are portrayed as tricksters, there are a number of accounts of the Cossacks deceiving maidens, and sometimes, the maidens' parents. As it occurs in some lyrical songs, where the Cossacks kidnap or lure a maiden and take her far from home (e.g., "The Cossacks were riding home from the steppe. They lured a maiden, named Halia, and took her with them…"),[94] the following *memorate* explores a similar motif:

> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (B, № 8):** In the days of old it happened that a Cossack would lure a maiden, take her to the Cossack land beyond the rapids of the river Dnipro, sells her and then returns. One such trickster confessed to me: "I," he said, "sold Varvara, and still spend my time in repentance and will never marry in my life." And he never married [just like he had promised].[95]

Besides the motif of a lured and kidnapped maiden, there is a motif, which explores a classic situation of mischievous guests, who bring about ruin upon their hosts. The next fragment contains motifs, in which the tricksters, posing themselves as prospective bridegrooms, impose economic ruin and dishonor upon the peasant's family and his estate:

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[93] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, p. 88. Appendix A (№ 1).

[94] For instance, the famous song *Ikhaly kozaky, z polia dodomu* [The Cossacks on the way home from the steppe] in the *Balady pro kokhannia ta doshliubni vidnosyny*, p. 76.

[95] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 102. See Appendix B (№ 8).

> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (B, № 5):** …It happened that the Cossacks were courting the maidens. One of them got engaged with my sister; they fed their steeds on my father's forage, as well as feasted themselves for two weeks or so, and then said: "We are riding away to obtain a marriage license and after that we shall be wed at the church."
> They rode away and never came back.[96]

The aforementioned Irish legendary cycle, *The Cycles of Kings*, contains a story with a very similar motif of a "mischievous guests." It indicates presence of this motif in folklore of other European peoples as well:

> [There was a hospitable man in Leinster, named Buchet]… [King] Cathaer had twelve sons, and they used to come for guesting with large companies, so that wasted all Buchet's substance. At last he was left with only seven cows and a bull, where there had been seven heards of cattle…[97]

One of the most burning offences to the peasants was when the Cossacks were mocking them for their origins and lifestyle. Peasants would be more forgiving of the Cossacks and their "unnatural" lifestyle (which many envied), their affluence and amorous behavior, if not for Cossacks' mocking and disrespect, as is portrayed in the next *memorate*:

> **Klym Belik (B, № 2):** … And those Cossacks were so energetic! Once they really insulted my father. He was drinking with them at the pub. And they started making fun of him: "Look, you," the Cossacks were saying, "there in Poland [you see, meant the Ukrainian lands] you are not baptized with the holy myrrh, but with the fat of a goose."
> And my father…ran to the market place, bought a loaf of bread (as a customary present among Cossacks— *R. S.*) and went to a Chieftain in order to submit a complaint. Chieftain listened to a plea. "O, those," he said, "sons of the devil! And what is about their // descent? They came out off peasant stock themselves and now they are the only ones baptized the holy myrrh!" "Off you

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[96] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 139-140 (on page 140). See Appendix B (№ 5).
[97] See "The Cycle of Lugaid Mac Con" in *The Cycles of the Kings*, p. 26.

> go," the Chieftain told to one of the Cossacks to run an errand, "...settle the dispute."
> That Cossack came to the pub with my father. "Why have you started quarreling, you, sons of the devil?" he asked the Cossacks. And they responded saying: "Sit with us...for we respect you like a father, share a drink of vodka with us." So, the Cossack on an errand feasted for a while and then said: "Why, did I come here in vain beating my boots for you? For this each of you will give me a rouble (large silver coin— *R. S.*)!"
> Everybody took a rouble and put it the Cossack's hat. And my father was also forced to do so. That was how that devil's son settled that dispute![98]

Conflicts, like the one described above, could seriously antagonize both the Cossacks and the peasants. Thus, it appears to be no accident that this issue had been brought to light and discussed in folklore. Curiously enough, similar to various previously-analyzed texts, a bitter conflict ends with a rather humorous episode, which, once again, underscores the wits of the Cossacks and show them as people, who can profit under any circumstances. The dispatched Cossack treats himself with free drink and then charges the quarreling parties for "beating his boots" while coming to the pub and "settling" their dispute.[99] At the same time, the analysis of the texts above leaves one question unanswered: what qualities and/or attributes made a Cossack different from a non-Cossack?

From the texts analyzed in the previous section of this chapter and provided in Appendix A, it is known that the Cossacks accepted people, who came to them from various places. Or, at least, such was the folk belief in the 19th century, which corresponds with available historical sources and research. Thus, the runaway peasants must have constituted a sizable part of the Cossack Host, as derives from the words of a Cossacks Chieftain (See Appendix B (№ 2)). But were those people somehow "tested" before their acceptance, to establish whether or not they would make a "true" Cossack?

The portrayal of an initiation ceremony in the "Cossack cycle" of Ukrainian folklore provides us with an insight into what qualities were supposedly sought by the Cossack Host from its new members: confidence, a humorously philosophical attitude towards troubles and/or inconveniences, faith in his Cossack brethren, and what is generally called "a free spirit." I say

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[98] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 156-165 (on pages 160-161). See Appendix B (№ 2).

[99] Reference to a "devil" in the Cossack's description must not serve to misguide— this metaphor was most definitely used as a sign of appreciation of the Cossack's intellect (e.g., the "devilish mind," shrewed person) for he managed to find a way to be rewarded for a likely unappealing assignment. The comparison of a Cossack to a "devil" must have derived from traditionally humorous attitude to this fantastic figure, characteristic of Ukrainian folklore in general, where the devil is mocked, rather than feared.

"supposedly," because the text below was most likely collected not from the Cossack (otherwise, Kulish would emphasize this), and, respectively, deals with non-Cossacks' perception of the Cossacks, their laws and practices:

> **Anonymous, collected by Panteleimon Kulish (B, № 1, excerpt 1):** When the Zaporozhians happened to lure some lad from the Hetmanate to come to the Sich, they first tested whether or not that lad deserved to be // a Cossack. So, Zaporozhians would order him to cook porridge (saying): "Take a caution, cook it until it is neither raw nor overdone. And we are going harvesting. When the porridge is ready, then climb that hill and call us: and we shall come upon hearing your call."
>
> Well, the Cossacks would pick their scythes and would go as if to harvest. But, in the name of devil, who would want to harvest? They would crawl to the reeds and stretch down over there. So, that lad upon finishing cooking the porridge would come up the hill and would start calling. And Cossacks would here him, but keep silence…
>
> And if the lad happened to be smart and swift, then // upon coming up the hill he would call a couple of times: "Hei, glorious lords! Come to eat the porridge" and if the Cossacks did not call back, then the lad would say: "Devil with you, if you are not responding! I shall eat by myself." And before leaving he would dance on the mound: "That is the life for me to live in the wide-open space!" And, while singing the Cossack song for the entire steppe to hear, the lad would go to the hut and would start eating the porridge.
>
> The Zaporozhians, lying in the grass and hearing that, would say: "He is one of us!" They would pick their scythes and return to their hut. And the lad would say: "Where, in the devil's name, have you been, my lords? I ruptured my throat while calling you; the spoilt porridge just won't do, so I have started eating it."
>
> So, the Cossacks would look at each other and would tell him: "Rise on your feet, you, novice! You are a boy no longer, but a Cossack of our kin."[100]

It is difficult to establish whether this account describes a real happening or a possible scenario of the initiation process of a prospective Cossack. At the same time, it most likely represents the peasants' view of how the admission to the Cossack Host must have been arranged. However, a description of the initiation ceremony shows that the border between a peasant and a Cossack— not just people, but bearers of certain cultural and psychological features, was quite real, indeed. The "elevation" from one social status to another occurred only if a person demonstrated certain inherited, uniquely "Cossack characteristics," as indicated above. However, if a person failed to demonstrate the expected features of character, he would be sent back to where he came from. What makes the motif of a departure of a rejected candidate extremely interesting is that he is sent back with curses (for ineptness and panicking), but also with gifts. This motif may have been adopted to signify the Cossacks' famed indifference if not to wealth itself, then to its accumulation. On the other hand, it reinforces another popular motif ("Cossacks as affluent people"), and can be succinctly described as "a reward with treasure, but without honor":

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[100] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 286-288. See Appendix B (№ 1).

> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (B, № 1, excerpt 2):** ...So, after calling his peers to no avail the lad would start crying: "The works of an ungodly one brought me among those Cossacks! How much better would I be around my father and mother? And if this porridge is to be spoiled, those evildoers will beat me up for that! I weep for my life! Why did I end up among those Cossacks?"
> So, the Cossacks would listen to that weeping while lying in the grass and would say: "No, this is not [the Cossack] material!" Upon returning to their hut they would give that lad a steed and some money, and would part saying: "May you ride to hell! We are better off without the likes of you."[101]

In respect to the role ascribed to the Cossack brotherhood by Ukrainian folklore, I would like to refer to the opinion by Aleksandr Veselovskii. While discussing the custom of *comparatico* (entering the bonds of brotherhood) and its popularity in various European cultures, Veselovskii pays specific attention to the ritualistic dimension of this ceremony. For instance, he distinguishes *comparatico* by "blood," by "mother's milk" and through "baptism."[102] *Comparatico* regulates relations between two people,[103] as well as between a person and a group. Its purposes range from soothing the old grievances between the subjects to entering into certain family relations (e.g. brother, godparent, etc.).

As for the rituals, which accompanied the acceptance of a person to his/her new family (tribe, *fratria* or brotherhood), the testing of a novice by the Cossacks somewhat resembles the rituals of ancient Scandinavians (walking under the earth), Sicilian *sepolcra*[104] and Serbian oaths on the tombs.[105] The sharing of food or drink (porridge, wine on its own, wine mixed with blood) as a part of *comparatico*, appears to play a significant role in similar rituals, observed or mentioned in regard to various European cultures.

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[101] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 286-287 (on page 287). See Appendix B (№ 1).

[102] Veselovskii, vol. 2, pp. 126-128.

[103] As an example I would like to mention Ukrainian *pobratymstvo* (entering the ties of brotherhood). Those people, bound by the ritual and oath, were viewed by folk tradition closer than any blood relatives.

Summarizing briefly the motifs, which explore various natural (human-like) characteristics of the Cossacks, a few things must be mentioned. First of all, available folklore texts provide an answer to what features were considered characteristic of the members of the Cossack estate by the peasants, Cossacks, and Cossack descendants. Among those features were physical (physical strength, strong stature, fine clothes and richly-decorated armor, fine riding skills, etc.) and moral (bravery, generosity, chastity, humor, lust, trickery, inclination to robberies, violence and so forth) features. Second, the motifs of physical and moral features of the Cossacks are usually presented as complex (e.g., bravery + physical strength + fine clothes and rich armor). Third, negative descriptions of the Cossacks in Ukrainian folklore were most likely caused by personal negative encounters between the peasants (traders, etc.) and the Cossacks, mostly represented by the motifs of the Cossacks' robberies and their sarcasm, aimed at the peasants, and probably, at all non-Cossacks as well.

Finally, the selection of the texts made by some of the folklore collectors may have been affected by certain biases towards the Cossacks (Kulish) or, on the contrary, by an extreme fascination with them (Novytsky, Iavornytsky). Thus, this circumstance ought to be taken into account while analyzing the motifs dealing with the Cossack characteristics in Ukrainian folklore.

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[104] Easter oratorios, performed at the symbolic grave. An oath given to somebody during the Easter cycle celebrations was most probably deemed unbreakable.

[105] Veselovskii, pp. 130-132.

b. Supernatural characteristics

The concept of Cossack supernatural qualities in Ukrainian folklore is conveyed primarily through their description as *kharakternyky*, the term, which I translate as "the invincible warrior-sorcerers."[106] At the same time, it is possible to speak of several motifs, dealing with Cossack supernatural qualities (e.g., sailing on a cloak, enchanting the enemy during the battle, etc.). Traditionally, the motifs of supernatural characteristics are employed in a single text as a complex, often being complemented with a number of other motifs. My argument is that a combination of natural and supernatural qualities were brought together to create an image of a "folk culture hero." In this case these heroes were called *kharakternyky* (also *khymorodnyky*, *znatnyky*, *planetnyky* or *planetni liudy*) and *bohatyri* (also, to some degree, *lytsari* or knights).

In folk prose, the conceptualization of the Cossacks as *bohatyri* (*lytsari*) and *kharakternyky* brought about two distinct, but at the same time, frequently converging images— the "Orthodox Christian knight" and the "warrior-sorcerer." The roots of those conceptualizations must be sought in early medieval times, even though the issue of later borrowings from various cultural traditions remains largely unresolved.[107] In order to address this problem, I suggest a discussion on the origins of the *knights* and *kharakternyky* in the folk prose about Cossacks.

Cossacks as "Orthodox Christian knights"

While analyzing the motifs present in "A Tale about Zaporozhian Cossack Vasiurynsky," I have emphasized the fact that in some accounts, Cossacks are portrayed through the prism of their earthly qualities: immense bodily power, bravery and glamorous appearance, piety and a sense of duty.

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[106] *Kharakternyk* is sometimes translated as "sorcerer" (*chaklun*, *charivnyk*). See *Slovnyk ukrains'koi movy* [Ukrainian dictionary], ed. S. Holovashchuk (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1980), s. v. "Kharakternyk." I expand the meaning of this term considering other roles/actions, performed by *kharakternyky* in Ukrainian legends. For the motifs, related to *kharakternyky* see Appendix A (№ 1, №2, № 3, № 7, № 8, № 9, № 10, № 11). The folklore about other Cossack groups, for instance, those in Russia, also mentions Cossacks with supernatural qualities (e.g., *vedun*, the "man of [special] knowledge"). See Grigorii Maliavkin, "Stanitsa Chervlennaia Kizliarskogo otdela Terskoi oblasti" [The village of Chervlennaia of Kizliar district of Tersk region], *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, 1891, Book 3, № 3, pp. 51-53.

[107] The image of *knight* became an important part of medieval worldview around the 1000s-1100s. It constituted one of the central ideas of the medieval world, linking the practicalities of warfare to the highest levels of literary creation and to religious idealism (Barber, 1995). See Richard W. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 1995); Kay Eastwood, *The Life of a Knight* (Crabtree Publishing Co., 2003). The issue of *kharakternyky* appears to be more complicated. Later in this work I shall discuss this problem in detail. As of now I would like to stress upon the fact that *kharakternyky* phenomenon cannot be studied without referring to the development of European, and particularly, Ukrainian culture during the medieval and early-modern times.

Such a description of a hero closely follows the mediaeval literary, — not to forget "Christian," — canon of describing a noble knight as strong, brave and pious, serving his fair lady or the Christian faith.[108] Such a service is often presented by the motif of a knight, slaying the dragon— the motif of Christian victory over the material personification of evil or a conceptualized ungodly, pagan beginning.[109]

Therefore, "a knight" customarily symbolized "a Christian hero," who found himself under the patronage of a particular saint or God Himself. A saint, for instance, would provide the knight with a marvelous horse for the knight's quest and the Lord would heal his wounds— all for the services done in His name.

Next legend deals with the knights as guardians of the Christian land against the dragons, and St. George, as the knights' patron. At the first glance it appears to be foreign to the corpus of legends about Ukrainian Cossacks, because its main character is a knight, not a Cossack. However, as we shall see later on (e.g., see Palii-the knight and Mazepa's son-the dragon in C, № 13), this text makes use of motifs, similar to those applied toward the Cossacks:

> **Anonymous, collected by Ivan Manzhura (B, № 20):** Knights live somewhere in the wilderness and guard the Christian lands from the dragons. If a dragon escapes from the wilderness then the knight would chase and slaughter it...
> ...Knights also have the knightly horses. Once upon a time such a horse joined the flock of other horses, but regardless of what the shepherds attempted, regardless of how they tried to catch it...this

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[108] Certain canons (the idealized code of military and social behavior) were already developed by the 13th century and can be found, for instance, in the description of St. Anthonius— the saint and the warrior. See Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda sanctorum...* (*Legenda aurea*) ["Life of the Saints," also known as the "Golden Legend"] (ca 1266). Descriptions of the knight as a warrior, a courtier and a religious person also appear in a number of other works (e.g., chronicles by Jacques Froissart (the 14th century) and Engeurrand de Monstrelet (the 15th century). From this perspective, it is noteworthy that "A Tale..." contains an episode, where the hero is attending a church and accepts communion, probably to accentuate his being a good Christian. See Kulish, vol. 1, p. 141 (Appendix B (№ 3).

[109] As early as the 1100s, numerous stories-romances emerged in Western Europe about the heroic knights and their quests, in which legendary or historical figures like King Arthur and the Twelve Knights of the Round table, Sigfrid and the Nibelungs, Charlemagne, and Roland challenged evil in all of its personifications. In Christian tradition, a motif of St. George slaying the dragon was extremely popular. Around that time in East-Europe, a genre of *byliny* emerged in folklore— recitations about the epic deeds of such mighty knights as Ilia Murovlenin (The Strong), Dobrynia, Mykula Selianynovych and other popular heroes. Those heroic images must have had a profound impact upon the contemporary, vernacular, and learned culture and became popularized in both folklore and written literature.

> horse would overtake any barrier and there was no rope strong enough to hold him. So, this horse escaped...
> Horses for the knights are trained by St. George himself...
> Knights need those horses when they are guarding the wilderness; and when the knight is chasing the dragon at large, the horse would find [the dragon] on its own...[110]

At the same time, any ideas of supernatural intervention and supernatural qualities, which did not derive from the Lord's grace, were traditionally thought of as the works of an evil spirit.[111]

In respect to the similarities between the "knight" and the "Cossack" in Ukrainian culture, I am introducing two hypotheses. The first one establishes that the motif of the "Christian knight" came to Ukrainian folklore from literary works (both Ukrainian and foreign) and oral tradition, and the other envisages such terms as "knight" and "Cossack" as having practically an identical meaning in the Ukrainian cultural context.

Throughout the 19th century, on the basis of folklore and literary texts, several scholars came to the conclusion that the images of the "Cossack" and the "knight" meant virtually the same in vernacular and learned Ukrainian traditions. In their works, in part dedicated to the problems of "Cossack folklore," Ukrainian scholars P. Lukashevych and M. Dashkevych viewed the Cossacks as an embodiment of folk heroism, using the term "*rytsarskii*" (knightly) to describe the people's struggle against foreign invaders.[112]

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[110] Manzhura, pp. 8-9. See Appendix B (№ 20.) For the "Dragon-Slayer" see the Types "The Ogre (Giant, Dragon, Devil, Cobold, etc.) is defeated)" (301, 302, 305, 315, 466, 466*, 502, 532, 553) in *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*, pp. 88-89. Also see the "Culture hero has marvelous horses" (A 524.1.2) motif in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, p. 120.

[111] I shall provide a more detailed discussion of this problem while talking about such Ukrainian "culture figure" as Colonel Palii. In his case the informants specifically accentuated upon the fact that Palii's supernatural qualities were "endowments from God Himself," thus eliminating any questions about the source of such powers. Such a need for an explanation on the part of Ukrainian informants appears to be in dissonance with the views on miracles, popular in Western Europe during the early-modern times. While any miracles, in what is now Ukraine, tended to be explained as manifestations of God's will, which exceeded the human understanding, in the medieval and early-modern Western Europe many of the so-called *miracles* were considered the manifestation of evil. For the views on miracles in early-modern Europe see Lorraine Daston, "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early-Modern Europe," *Wonders, Marvels and Monsters in Early-Modern Culture*, ed. Peter G. Platt (Newark: University of Delaware; London: Associated University P, 1999), pp. 76-104 (on pages 77-78).

[112] Platon Lukashevich, *Malorossiiskie i chervonorusskie narodnye dumy i pesni* [Epic recitations and songs from the Little and Red Rus'] (St.- Petersburg, 1836), pp. 25, 47; Nikolai Dashkevich, *Rytsarstvo na Rusi– v zhizni i poezii* [Knights in the life and poetry of Rus'] (Kiev, 1902), pp. 40-41.

As for the first known publication of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) tales in the English-speaking world, American author Robert N. Bain provides the following definition of "a Cossack": "*Kozak*, a Cossack, being the ideal human hero of the Ruthenians, just as a *bohatyr* is a hero of the demigod type, as the name implies."[113] Even though his etymologycal explanation of the term *bohatyr* is questionable at the very least, Bain, nonetheless, attempts to compare and to conceptualize the terms, both widely used in the various genres of Ukrainian folklore.

In fact, *bohatyr* (*bogatyr*) represents an ancient East-Slavic equivalent of a West-European "knight" (*lytsar* or *rytsar'*).[114] The exchange of ideas among European cultures resulted in a renaissance of this concept in the 16th and 17th centuries, both in Polish and Ukrainian cultures.

The concept of "a knight," as a defender of true faith and his native land against the invaders, was promoted primarily through literary works, styled as "histories." When by the early 1600s the Ruthenian (Rus', Ukrainian) nobility either died out or became converted to Roman Catholicism and effectively Polonized, the role of the defenders of Orthodoxy was eventually assumed by Zaporozhian Cossack Host, which entered a political alliance with the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy (ca 1620). But even decades before this alliance was formed, the role of the Cossacks in defending the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth against the Turks and Tatars had been already acknowledged by the Cossacks' contemporaries. Polish writer Bartosz Paprocki wrote (1584): "…on the rapids [of the Dnipro] live knightly people…who are called Zaporozhian lads…and [they] are the noble knights in their own right."[115] Also, in his work on the history of the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Alexander Gwagninus mentioned that since their appearance in Ukraine, the Cossacks "began to improve…in knightly exercises" and what the Tatars did to the Cossacks, the Cossacks did to them in return.[116]

According to Mykola Dashkevych, in the *Chronicle of Suprasl' Monastery* (the late 1500s- early 1600s) the defender of Orthodox faith Prince Kostiantyn of Ostroh (Ostrozky) is called a "brave knight" and his warriors are called "knights." Around the year 1648, the Polish King Władisław IV reportedly told future Cossack Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his Cossacks that "you are also knights, and you have muskets and sabers [to protect your rights and liberties]…"[117]

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[113] Robert Nisbeth Bain, *Cossack Fairy Tales* (New York: Kraus, 1975), p. 18. The tales, presented in this work, had been collected during the 19th century, primarily in Right-Bank Ukraine.

[114] This term is also similar to the Turkish variants, such as *batyr* and *bagadur*.

[115] See Bartosz Paprocki, *Herby rycerstva polskiego* [Crests of the Polish knights] (Kraków: Wyd. K. J. Turowskiego, 1858), pp. 156-158.

[116] Alexander Gwagninus, *Kronika ziemie ruskiey* [The chronicle of a Rus' land] (Krakow: W Drukárniey Mikoláiá Lobá, 1611), p. 32.

[117] Dashkevich, pp. 34-35.

Kasian Sakovych in his *Elegy, dedicated to the Death of a Noble Knight Petro Konashevych Sahaidachny* (1622) explains the origins of the Cossack Host's official stamp and the crest with a *knight* on it by referring to the Cossack courage and their faithful service.[118] Consequently, it is possible to confirm a well-established parallel between the "Cossack" and the "knight" in the early-modern learned tradition of Poland and Ukraine.

The merger of those terms eventually occurred in East-Slavic folklore as well. In his analysis of Russian epic poetry, Vsevolod Miller suggests that the typecast of "a Cossack as a knight" probably emerged among the Turkic people before the 15th century, and later on entered the realm of Slavic folklore. According to Miller, among the 201 known *byliny* about a knight called Ilia Murovlenin, in 132 of them Ilia is also called a "Cossack" or an "old Cossack."[119]

In Ukrainian *dumy*, the knight's image is substituted with an image of the "Cossack," which traditionally has the same characteristics and bears the same functions as the "knight." According to Filiaret Kolessa, Cossack *dumy* replaced the epic recitations of the "princely age"— *byliny*[120] and, bringing his idea to a logical conclusion, in due course, the image of the "knight" was replaced with the image of the "Cossack."

As for Ukrainian legends, it appears that instead of a mere replacement of one image with another, a convergence and/or parallel existence of both terms took place. A very traditional description of the knight and his services in the text by Manzhura co-existed with numerous texts, in which the traditional description of a "Christian hero," in terms of European literary and folklore canons, gave way to the motifs, which portrayed the Cossacks-knights through the prism of different, "supernatural" qualities.

In the *fabulate* collected by Iakiv Novytsky, from an old watchman from the Katerynoslav region in the 1890s, the physical description of Cossacks follows the canons in depicting "traditional" knights in folklore and chivalric romances:

> **Dmytro Iavornytsky from an old watchman in Katerynoslav region (B, № 16, excerpt 1)**: ...The Cossacks were so huge, that the earth could hardy bear them! ...Any given Cossack had a head, which weighted some 250 pounds! ...And their moustache was so long, that if a Cossack stretched them to both sides, he would not

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[118] Kasian Sakovych, "Versh na zhalostnei pohreb zatsnaho rytsera Petra Konashevycha Sahaidachnaho [Verses in commemoration of the reposed great knight Petro Sahaidachnyi] (1622)," ed. Fedir Titov, *Materialy dlia istorii knizhnoi spravy na Vkraini v 16-18 vv.* (Kyiv: Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 1924), pp. 38-61 (on page 39).

[119] Vsevolod Miller, *Ekskursy v oblast' russkago narodnago eposa* [A study in the area of Russian folk epics], I-VIII (Moscow: Kushnerev, 1892), pp. 226-227.

[120] Filiaret Kolessa, *Ukrains'ka usna slovesnist'* [Ukrainian oral literature] (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983), p. 118.

> be able to walk through the doors, even though a three-horse carriage would pass easily through those doors.[121]

In this text, the Cossack (the "knight") is portrayed as a person of immense power and large stature. At the same time, his description lacks the elements, which depict moral values and specific quests. It is quite possible that the conceptualization of the "knight" in Ukrainian folklore was gradually reduced to a sum of physical characteristics (even if exaggerated), making "the knight" a motif, an element in a conceptualization of a "Cossack as a culture hero," rather than preserving it as a conceptualization in its own right.

The breach in portraying other Cossack features is filled with the motifs, which deal with various supernatural abilities, ascribed to the members of the Cossack brotherhood: the knowledge of many languages, the ability to change shape, the ability to influence other peoples' will, the ability to influence the weather and the possession of certain magical objects (e.g., a mirror).[122] However, when combined, the motifs of immense physical power and large proportions and the motifs of supernatural (magical) abilities present a totally different conceptualization of a Cossack as a human being with supernatural abilities.

There is an indication that by the time those stories about the knights and *kharakternyky* were collected, the formalization of features, the indication of similarities and differences between them, had not been done for both characters. As I have already mentioned, in some cases, one character's features were used to complement the features of the other character, in order to create the perfect image of a "culture hero." Yet in some cases, both characters can be found in a single text. However, the knights and *kharakternyky* are identified by their respective definitions and not by their supposed features, which leads one to the conclusion that despite certain vagueness in their attributed characteristics, those characters were distinguished one from the other:

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[121] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 189. See Appendix B (№ 16). For instance, compare this image of a Cossack with the depiction of Ilia Murovlenin, Dobrynia, Solovei Budimirovich from Onega *byliny* cycle. The similar motifs are present in the legends about Colonel Semen Palii (see Appendix C).

[122] As for the "multi-lingual skills" compare this motif with a similar motif in an account by Pavlo Tukalevsky about the meeting between Catherine II and the deputies from Zaporozhian Cossack Host in Appendix C (№ 21); for the ability to "change shape" (shape-shifters) also see a motif, in which a popular Cossack Chieftain Ivan Sirko changes shape to a hound Appendix C (№ 11); for the ability to "influence other people's will" (often combined with the motifs of influencing animals and objects) see Appendix A (№ 8, № 10) and Appendix C (№ 15,) etc.; for the ability to "influence the weather" (also *nature*) see Appendix A (№ 3); for the "possession of magical objects" (mirror, cloak) see Appendix A (№ 10, № 11), Appendix B (№ 16).

> **Osyp Shut' (B, № 19)**: …Speaking about the giant dragon the old man Osyp Shut' explained that "there were three dragons on the lands of Zaporozhian Host: one of them lived on the island of Khortytsia, another one lived on the island of Puris, below the Viper's rapids, where there is still a cave, and the third one, the most monstrous creature of them all, King Dragon — a master over the other dragons, — lived on the island of Perun. The latter dragon had reportedly had two lairs: on the island of Perun and on Strilcha skelia (cliff) near the rapid of Lakhan. All three of those dragons lit the rapids and nightly errands of the Cossacks with the sparks from their wings while flying in the night…Those dragons lived like knights and waged battles only against the knights. They preyed on people, but were wary of the Zaporozhian [Cossacks] for there were knights (*bohatyri*) and *kharakternyky* among them…"[123]

As one can notice by looking at the last sentence of the cited abstract, even though the informant in this case does not provide any details on the respective features of the knights and the warriors-sorcerers, it is clear that he distinguishes between them by indicating that "there were both knights and *kharakternyky* among them…"[124]

At this point, it should be also mentioned that Ukrainian folklore provides evidence that conscious attempts were made to reconcile the issue of placing ideologically contradictory motifs related to Christian knights and warriors-sorcerers in a single text. For instance, in the *chronicate* about Cossack Colonel Semen Palii, Hetman Ivan Mazepa and the Swedes the informant provides a description of Palii's abilities, calling him the *kharakternyk* and explaining his supernatural characteristics by the Divine intervention:

> **Collected by Ivan Manzhura from a "stranger" and a "pipe-player" in Poltava region (C, № 17)**: …Back then, Mazepa was royalty and Semen Palii was his general; once upon a time they had an argument and Mazepa had Palii incarcerated in the wall. Palii lived there for quite a long time. When the Swedes were moving against Poltava, our Tsar Peter I ordered to find a person who would defend Poltava. One old man stepped forward and said: "Your Imperial Highness! I know the wall where Semen Palii is incarcerated; he is up to your task." Well, at once the Tsar ordered to deliver Palii from imprisonment and he was brought out

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[123] *Ostriv Khortytsia na Dnipri,* pp. 10-11 (on page 11). See Appendix B (№ 19).
[124] Ibid., p. 11.

> of his incarceration. "Well, can you defend Poltava against the Swedes?" —"Yes, I can, Your Imperial Highness," and upon saying this Palii loaded his rifle with a silver bullet and shot at Mazepa and the king of Sweden Charles, who were having dinner at that time, and the bullet fell into their bowl and the food in this bowl turned into boiling blood. "O, I see," Mazepa said, "Palii is at large already!" Mazepa and Charles began running away and killed one another while making an escape. —"What did Palii do?" //
> — "Nobody knows, but he was a wizard, a Godly one."[125]

It appears that in folklore, the positive attitude towards the supernatural characteristics of a "culture hero" had to receive a certain sanction, moral and/or ideological approval i.e., to appeal to the role, played by Orthodox Christianity in public and private life. Thus, Ukrainian folklore explains the possession of magical skills by a warrior-sorcerer as given to a person as a gift from God.

The motifs of "dragon-slaying" and the "knightly strength" represent a certain borderline between the "godly," "Christian" and "sorcery-induced" in the collective character of "a Cossack." Despite the above-mentioned attempts to close the gap between those two opposing groups of Cossack characteristics,[126] a description of Cossacks as the *kharakternyk* type, relates to a separate well-developed theme in the "Cossack cycle" of Ukrainian folklore. On the basis of available texts, five major types and some twenty motifs have been identified in this study, which are related to this particular theme.

Type one ("The invincibility of a Cossack-*kharakternyk*") constitutes probably the most popular topic in the stories about supernatural characteristics and the outstanding deeds of the Cossacks. This type usually contains one or more of the three major motifs. The first motif can be described as follows: "a Cossack is shot at; catches the bullet":

> **Anonymous, collected by Volodymyr Menchits (B, № 13):** ...Back then there was a Cossack Chieftain in Pryluchyn, who had 50 Cossacks under his command. So, he rode into our village, which is now called "Kotiuzhyntsy," and which, at that time, had a different name, and in our village there was a landlord to whom the Chieftain said: "do be afraid not, father, while there is still life in me." That was what he told the landlord during his visits. And

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[125] See Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), pp. 205-206. Appendix C (№ 17).

[126] See Appendix C (№ 17).

> he was such a sorcerer that when he was shot at while in battle, this Chieftain would unbutton his clothes, and the bullets would fly straight into his sleeves as bees into the beehive. So, that Chieftain used to say while he was shot at: "why are you spitting at me, you, son of a devil. Why are you? ..."[127]

> **Martyn Kravets-Zayika (B, № 15)**: ...There were many *kharakternyky* among the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Berlim told me about the Chieftain Kravchyna, who caught the murderer of Cossacks, named Sava (Sava Chalyi— a famous antihero in the lore about the Cossacks— *R. S.*) in Poland... So, when // the Cossacks were fighting against the Poles and the Poles were taking over, as soon as Kravchyna attacked— the Poles were doomed. Polish bullets would be flying at the Cossacks, and the Cossacks would be catching them in their sleeves...[128]

The motifs of type one ("Cossack is shot at; catches bullet; throws it back") reminds one of the "Characteristic of witches" (G 220) and the motif "Witch catches bullets, sends it back" (G 229. 4. 2) motifs which, for instance, have a known parallel in Lithuanian folklore.[129] There are also parallels between the Cossacks as witches/warlocks and other favorite folk heroes, celebrated in other parts of Ukraine.[130]

The second motif of type one is "a Cossack is shot at; gun does not fire":

> **Osyp Shut' (A, № 7)**: ...When the Russian army faced the Zaporozhians, *kharakternyky* came forward. "Well, — they were saying, — shoot us for we are not giving up!" The Russians lifted the guns, aimed them at the Cossacks, and the guns — clank, clank, clank! — all of them misfired. Russian soldiers checked them, and saw that the gunpowder was wet... "Well, — they were

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[127] Dragomanov, pp. 200-201. See Appendix B (№ 13).

[128] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, pp. 90-92 (on page 92). See Appendix B (№ 15). Also for the same motif see Appendix A (№ 1, № 10).

[129] *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, vol. 3, p. 293. In regard to other supernatural characteristics, which offer certain commonality in description of the Cossacks and the witches, see Types 303, 442 and the motif "Witch injures, enchants or transforms" (G 263) with a number of Icelandic, Lithuanian and Italian parallels. Reference made to Aarne-Thompson, vol. 3, p. 299.

[130] Among those were *opryshky* in Western Ukraine and *haidamaky* in Central Ukraine.

> saying, even the devil will probably fail to overwhelm you, Cossacks."[131]

This particular motif may occasionally substitute the motif "a Cossack is shot at; catches the bullets."

The third motif is called "a Cossack is attacked; assailant loses the command of his limbs":

> **Iakiv Lytvyn (B, № 17)**: …Once upon a time, the Cossacks were in Petersburg and paid a visit to the [Tsarina's] palace; they were ushered to their seats, but chose to sit on the ground.
> Katerynych (the informant called the Tsarina's minion Prince Potemkin "Katerynych"— *D. I.*) came to see them and started laughing, upon seeing them sitting on the bare ground. Then he raised his arm to hit a Cossack [with a saber].
> —Come on, cut me down, — the Cossack said, — since you have raised your hand!
> But how could the Prince slay that Cossack! As soon as Potemkin raised his arm, it dried out and fell numb…[132]

Type two ("Cossacks make enemies kill each other") can also be utilized as a separate motif:

> **Ivan Kardash (B, № 18)**: This land of ours had been reclaimed from the Turks, God knows when and under what Tsar. It is said that the Turkish and Tatar horde was holding position on the island of Khortytsia, and the Russian army stood directly opposite of it, where now the village of Voznesenska is (now within the city limits of Zaporizhzhia— *R. S.*) So, the battle began. The Turks fortified the island and shot at the Russians with cannon fire, and the Muscovites were stumbling and falling. When many a Muscovite had fallen, the Tsar rose from his seat and lamented [the losses of his army]. Suddenly, a Zaporozhian Cossack showed up riding straight to the Tsar.
> —Hello, o Tsar!
> —Hello, o Cossack!

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[131] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, pp. 89-90 (on page 90). See Appendix A (№ 7).

[132] *Lehendy i perekazy*, p. 189. See Appendix B (№ 17). For the motif "attacked with other weapons" see Appendix C (№ 9). For the "assailant losses the command of his limbs" motif see Appendix A (№ 8).

> —What gives?
> —So and so,— said Tsar,— I have lost many men from my army, but could not overcome the Turks.
> —Come and stand, — the Cossack responded, — by my side!
> The Tsar stood. The Zaporozhian Cossack at once raised his arm and caught the cannon ball.
> —You see, — the Cossack said, — what a nice present! And now, — he continued talking to the Tsar, — look at that island and tell me what do you see now?
> The Tsar looked at the island and saw the Turks massacring one another and trampling their fallen. A cloud of dust rose and the cawing of ravens was heard, and then calmness fell.
> —Now take a look, — the Cossack told the Tsar.
> The Tsar looked again and saw no living Turks — they killed one another, and the ravens were picking the eyes of the fallen [Turks]...[133]

Type three ("Cossacks are chased by the enemy; Cossacks disrupt pursuit by creating various obstacles using sorcery") can also be employed as a separated motif:

> **Kostiantyn Kovalenko (A, № 3)**: ... So, the Turks were coming in force to attack the boy and his army. They came at last... The Turks were here, and the boy lived there... But the Turks could not reach him: a tall mountain stood in their way!! They went around it several times and were forced to retreat.
> The leader of the Turks got angry! How could that be?! What was going on?! So, he dispatched other troops.
> ...The river stood in their way this time... So wide — so wide, that the water glowed, like silver!! ...
> He sent troops the third time... Woods... thorns... Nothing, but woods!!...[134]

The Cossacks (either a Chieftain or an "old wise man") interrupt the enemy's pursuit by creating a river, woods, mountain between them and their pursuers. Similar motifs can be found in various East-Slavic folk tales. However, unlike the East-Slavic tales, where such obstacles are created by using certain magical objects, — such as a kerchief, a comb, the heroine's tears and so on,[135] — in this particular *chronicate*, there is no indication what caused those obstacles to appear.

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[133] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 192. See Appendix B (№ 18).

[134] Martynovych, pp. 257-259 (on page 258). See Appendix A (№ 3).

Type four ("Cossacks and their other magical abilities") includes several interchangeable motifs. In the texts of this type, Cossacks possess the ability to change shape ("Cossacks as shape-shifters"), "Cossacks speak many languages," "Cossacks live forever" ("remarkable longevity of culture heroes" or "culture hero never dies"), "Cossacks influence other people's will" (also influence beast and objects), and "Cossacks possess magical means of transportation."[136]

Type five ("Cossacks and various magical objects") offer some motifs, which are either extremely rare or have no known parallels in other cultures. Every specialist of folklore knows, because of the publication of the collection by the Grimm brothers, about the motif of "a magic mirror, telling the truth." However, the "magic mirror, which warns its master against the enemies (or other danger)," represents a rather rare motif:

> **Collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky from an old watchman in Katerynoslav region (B, № 16)**: Those Cossacks also had such magical mirrors, that they could see as far as a thousand miles through them. So, before going into battle, the commander, Chieftain (*koshevyi*) or Hetman, would take that mirror, look in it and say: "We are not going there because of the presence of Polish troops in that area, and we are not going there, because there, the Turks and Tatars are roaming, but we are going there, because there are no enemies in sight…"[137]

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[135] The motif of a hero's/heroine's escaping from an ogre. S.v. "Baba Iaga," by Natalie Kononenko in *Encyclopedia of Folklore and Literature*, ed. Mary Ellen Brown (Santa Barbara; Denver; Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1998), pp. 39-40. See type G 303 (Devil ("Other ogre")) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 3, pp. 315-340. Also see Elena Pomerantseva, *Mifologicheskie personazhi v russkom fol'klore* [Mythological characters in Russian folklore] (Moscow: Nauka, 1975).

[136] See the types 650-699 "Supernatural power or knowledge" in *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*, pp. 225-239. For the "Cossacks as shape-shifters" motif, see: "changing into a water" (Appendix B (№ 16)), "into a beast" (hound) (Appendix C (№ 10)); for the motif "Cossacks speak many languages" see Appendix B (№ 16) and Appendix C (№ 21); for the "remarkable longevity of cultural heroes" see the motif A 564 in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, p. 124. Also see Appendix C (№ 19): "…Palii …is still alive. When the new moon is born then Palii is getting younger, and when the moon is full then Palii is getting older"; for the "influencing other people's will" see Appendix B (№ 18); "influencing beasts" (Appendix A (№ 11)); "objects" (Appendix A (№ 1, № 3), etc. For the "magical transportation" see the motif "Magic transportation by cloak (cape)" (D. 1520.6) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 6, p. 83.

[137] See Appendix B (№ 16).

The other motif is more unusual, still. In Appendix C, there is the *fabulate*, in which the Cossack Chieftain Ivan Sirko, anticipating his death, orders his Cossacks to cut off his right arm and carry it into battle for seven years, as a means to ensure their victories:

> **T. (?) Zabutnii (C, № 11, excerpt 1)**: Really his name was not "Sirko," but "Sirentii the Righthanded." When Sirentii was dying, his last will was that [his Cossacks] had his right arm cut off and they were to carry it [to battles] for seven years:
> —When I die then cut off my right arm and carry it with you for seven years. And wherever you go, I shall be with you. If you were to carry my arm, my "master arm" will lead you into battle. And after seven years, excavate my body and put my arm into my coffin.
> So, Sirentii's arm was with his Cossacks for seven years. When the eighth year came, the Cossacks exhumed Sirentii and attached his arm to where it had been before. So, that is why his name was not Sirko, but Sirentii the Righthanded.[138]

The closest parallel to this motif in East-Slavic tales can be found in types 560* and 560** ("The devil's or sorcerer's ring"), represented by Russian and Belarusian tales, or in type 560 D* ("A lad receives a magic sack, which fulfills all of his wishes"), with only one known Ukrainian parallel.[139] The motif of the dismemberment of a Cossack Chieftain bears strong resemblance to totem beliefs— it is an implicit idea that Sirko's right hand, which cleft so many enemies during the Chieftain's lifetime, would grant his men victories for years to come (the number of years is presented by a sacred number "seven"). At the same time, this motif's origins are also connected with the Christian cult of the relics of the Saints, popular in Ukrainian lands (e.g., the relics of The Cave Monastery in Kyiv).

Also, in this text the motif of taboo, which offered a retribution for desecrating the Cossack's grave, is introduced. This is done probably to reinforce the idea of the "sacrosanct character" of Sirko's gift:

> **T. (?) Zabutnii (C, № 11, excerpt 2)**: …Sirko said: … And if you surround my mound with trees, then I shall repay you for your good deeds; but if you were to desecrate my tomb, then I shall also repay you in a different fashion.

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[138] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 194. See Appendix C (№ 11).

[139] *Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov*, pp. 159-160.

> Indeed, Sirentii's tomb will never allow anybody to work around it. Once a man was plowing with three pairs of bulls and approached the burial mound. So, the harnesses on those bulls got twisted, so that no one could separate the beasts. People from the entire village came there, but failed to accomplish anything. And that person just approached Sirko's mound.[140]

My search for warriors-sorcerers in cultures, other than Ukrainian, revealed examples from other Cossack groups, for instance the previously mentioned *veduny* (see section 4.2.b) of Kuban Cossacks from the Kuban region of Russia (whose ancestors came there from Ukraine in 1792). Besides, there is at least one Irish legend, which, though it does not portray warriors-sorcerers directly, describes "druidical sorcery," used in one of the legendary battles, the battle of Ventry:

> "O, king…," said Mac Emin, "I have here with me the venomous weapons through which [your enemies] find death, and Labraid Lamfhada (Labraid of the Long Hand)…has sent them to thee through druidical sorcery." And he placed them into the hand of Finn, and he took their coverings off them, and there arose from them ashes of lightning, the most venomous bubbles, and the warriors could not endure to look at those weapons, and one third of prowess and valour and courage and high spirit came into every man of the fianns of Erinn as he beheld those weapons with his arms. For the balls of fire they sent forth, no dress or garment could resist them, but went through the bodies of the men next to them like most venomous arrows…[141]

At this point the following summary can be he drawn. It is possible to affirm that the image of a "knight" existed in Ukrainian folklore since the princely times. During the Cossack times, occurred an appropriation, rather than a mere substitution, and an association of the "knight" with the "Cossack." As for the motifs, the new heroes — the Cossacks — acquired many of the characteristics of their historical predecessors. This circumstance resulted in the transferring of the motifs of their exceptional strength, commitment to their quest of fighting against evil, and their supernatural qualities to the "Cossack cycle" of Ukrainian folklore. In the case of the "knightly cycle," its motifs were popular among various genres of Ukrainian folklore and, in time, "migrated" from one genre to another e.g., from the epics to the calendar songs.

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[140] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 194.
[141] *Cath Finntrága*, p. 32.

From the text collected by Manzhura[142], one may also see that the "knightly" motifs also made their way to Ukrainian folk prose. At the same time, the association of the knights of old and the Cossacks was realized in Ukrainian folk prose via the appropriation of literary motifs, which had come from the writings of authors like Paprocki, Gwagninus and Sakovych.[143] The motifs of the strength and commitment of the knight, brought to life by literary works, were complemented by folklore motifs describing the extraordinary physical strength, stature and deeds of those popular heroes. This situation produced certain motifs, like the one in which only knightly Cossacks were considered suitable to face monstrous dragons and other formidable opponents of the Christian people in battle.[144]

The origins of the types and motifs, which describe the Cossacks as *kharakternyky*, are more obscure. At first sight, it may seem to be either a reminiscence of totemistic pagan beliefs and rituals, or a rather recent adaptation from the romantic literature of the early 1800s. As for the examples of warriors-sorcerers from the folklore of other European peoples, they are extremely scarce.

Some of the magical acts, performed by the Cossacks, characterize them as something similar to pagan priests, male witches or warlocks of European folklore. This does not mean, however, that those motifs emerged outside of the Christian cultural space. In my opinion, the incorporation of "supernatural" motifs created a perfect, well-rounded image of their culture's heroes. At the same time, the members of the Ukrainian peasant folk made an attempt to explain the supposed acquisition of supernatural qualities by the Cossacks through the concept of "Divine intervention." And, perhaps, this was a conscious attempt by the folk to reflect on the Christian teaching about "good" and "evil," and it resulted from the people's desire to empower their "culture heroes." At its best, this issue is represented by the formula: "…he was a wizard, but a Godly one." This formula was most likely employed to avoid contradiction between the "goodness" of the Cossacks as supernatural human beings, and what "goodness" actually meant according to the Christian teaching. Considering the role of the Christian church, which it played in the people's life in 19th century Ukraine, as well as the popularity of the Cossacks' topic in Ukrainian folklore, this expanations looks plausible.

Inasmuch, the description of Cossack natural and supernatural characteristics in Ukrainian folk prose produced a number of original motifs and their combinations. Development of those motifs/combinations in Ukrainian folk legends was subject to a variety of factors, first of all, continuation of Ukrainian oral tradition with its “knightly” motifs, borrowing and adaptation of literary and folkloric, foreign and domestic, motifs as well as personal agendas, persued by the collectors of folklore and their informants.

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[142] See Appendix B (№ 20).

[143] This borrowing does not overrule the fact that literary works, themselves, often thrived on folk types and motifs. However, in our case, literary works by Polish (e.g., Paprocki) and Ukrainian (e.g., Sakovych) authors played a crucial role in introducing the motif of "Cossacks as knights" to Ukrainian literary and oral traditions.

[144] See Appendix B (№ 19).

4.3 Individual figures

Personalities, presented in folk prose about Ukrainian Cossacks, can be divided two different ways, at the very least. The first way envisages a simple division between the texts, which deal with the personalities of the Cossacks and the personalities other than Cossacks, and who, played an important role in the stories— rulers, generals, servants of the ruler's court and so forth.

The other depicts a division into three major groups. The first group of texts discusses the personalities, whose existence outside of folklore is proven by written historical sources (such figures as the Hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa, Cossack Chieftain Ivan Sirko, Tsarina Catherine II, etc.). To the second group belong those texts, which portray the personalities, whose existence is established by folklore texts exclusively— e.g., Cossack Chieftain Kravchyna, Cossack Vasiurynsky, Marusia, the Cossack maiden, who have no parallels in literary works. Finally, under the third group fall those texts, which depict "anonymous" personalities, whose identity is not revealed directly, even if, at the time, the reference to a specific historical period or events allow for an almost positive recognition of a particular historical individual.

Each of the groupings, though based upon different formal approaches towards the division within the corpus of the texts, has its merits and shortcomings. However, they are not mutually exclusive and the combination of the two approaches makes for better presentation of available materials. Thus, a separate discussion on the Cossacks and "other" personalities in Ukrainian folk prose follows. Nonetheless, the issues of their interaction and presentation in folklore are going to be addressed along the way. This study will also establish the "historicity" of a given figure, and determine whether the latter appeared as the result of introducing the historical figure into folklore, thereby illiciting the creation of a folk culture's heroes by the folk themselves, or even referring to an anonymous or composite figure— the embodiment of a particular status and personal qualities.

a. Cossack individuals

From the very outset, I would like to emphasize the following point: in this dissertation, I tend to distinguish between a "hero" (a historical personality, a folkloric character) and a "culture hero." This distinction is drawn under the assertion that the concept of a "culture hero" is based upon the combination of positive natural and supernatural characteristics, which are assigned to a particular hero or heroine, and this individual's top significance for a specific culture. The personality of a true "culture hero" is explored in numerous variants; it is developed and discussed with great detail and with great care. A "hero," in fact any positive character, as opposed to a "culture hero," can also be portrayed through various motifs, dealing with both natural and supernatural characteristics. However, "ordinary hero" characters pale in comparison to "culture hero" in the magnitude and in social significance of their deeds, and in affection, reserved by the storyteller and his/her audience, for the most favorite folk heroes. As for the negative characters, they can also be distinguished as "anti-heroes" and those anti-heroes, who almost reach the level of true antipodes of "culture heroes" (e.g., Colonel Semen Palii vs. Hetman Ivan Mazepa). Their existence in folklore is often inseparable, one from the other, for they allow to emphasize the struggle between "good" and "evil," as well as to highlight the best characteristics, reserved by the people for their most favorite heroes.

In Ukrainian folk prose, the personality of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky represents, chronologically, the dawn of Cossack history. My dissertation features six texts about this historical figure. Khmelnytsky-the father is generally portrayed as a person who began an uprising and the war against Polish and Roman Catholic domination in Ukraine— a certain milestone, which marked the line between Ukraine before the Cossack rule and "Cossack Ukraine" itself:

> **Anonymous, collected by Panteleimon Kulish (C, № 1, excerpt 1)**: Khmelnytsky was the first who agitated the *haidamaky* (the rebels— *R. S.*) against the Poles. He wrote a letter saying: "Hey! Who is willing to join me?" and assembled many Cossacks. Then they started mowing down Poles and Jews…[145]
>
> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (C, № 5)**: Once upon a time — before the uprising of Khmelnytsky — Jews kept the keys for the [Ukrainian Orthodox churches]. If one needed to go to church, then he would have to negotiate the price with a Jew. That was what caused all future calamities.[146]

In other narratives, Bohdan Khmelnytsky is portrayed as a defender of the Greek Orthodox faith— a certain sign that, in folklore, this figure commends a positive attitude. Sometimes, this could be depicted with a smirk over the hero's characteristics ("Khmelnytsky as a womanizer"):

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[145] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 114-115 (on page 114). See Appendix C (№ 1).

[146] Ibid., p. 116. See Appendix C (№ 5). Also see Zenon E. Kohut, "The Khmelnytsky Uprising, the image of Jews, and the shaping of Ukrainian historical memory," *Jewish History*, vol. 17 (№ 2), 2003, pp. 141-163 (on page 147).

> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (C, № 1, excerpt 2)**: …And if they encountered a beautiful lady or a Jewish [woman or maiden], then Khmelnytsky would spare them and baptize them. He also had Polish lords baptized [as Greek Orthodox]…[147]

Another indication that Khmelnytsky-the father was generally loved by the folk comes from the presence of humorous motifs in the description of his actions and his relations with the Cossacks, who often played jokes on their kin ("Khmelnytsky is conned by his men"):

> **Kulish from an unknown informant (C, № 4)**: When Khmelnytsky was fighting against the Poles, he promised any Cossack who would catch a Pole, a rouble, and almost twice as much (one rouble and 80 kopecks) for a Roman Catholic priest. So, when a Cossack caught a Pole, then he would tonsure the captive and say: "Beware, you cursed Pole! If you tell [Khmelnytsky] that you are not a priest then it is "good-bye" to your soul!" //
> So, a Cossack would bring his captive to Khmelnytsky.
> "What are you?"
> "A priest"
> Then Khmelnytsky would take the double reward from his pocket and give it to the Cossack.[148]

Two *chronicates* introduce the motif of Bohdan Khmelnytsky as a clever military tactician. If direct force fails or is not enough to overwhelm the foes, then he always comes up with a plan of how to beat the odds and secure the victory for the Cossacks:

> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (C, № 1, excerpt 3)**: …So, when Khmelnytsky began his campaign, he chased the Poles beyond the river of Sluch; then he sent his host home and he erected windpowered drums over the river. Wherever wind blew the Poles were thinking that that noise was made by the trumpets of the Cossack host, and did not dare to cross Sluch…[149]

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[147] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 114-115 (on page 114). See Appendix C (№ 1).
[148] Ibid., pp. 276-277. See Appendix C (№ 4).
[149] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 114. See Appendix C (№ 1).

The "hero as trickster" motif is usually employed to underscore the military prowess of the leader— Bohdan Khmelnytsky, where trickery emerges as a positive characteristic, which allows the hero to accomplish his goals. However, what makes this text especially interesting is that it seems to use a motif, found in the texts about arguably the greatest ruler of antiquity— Alexander the Great. Around the 15th century, the novel of the Balkan origins, *Alexandria*, was introduced to Eastern Slavs. Along with this novel circulated other texts, which described life and deeds of this character. In the legend about Alexander, published in *Russian Folk Tales* by Afanas'ev, the hero fights against the "ferocious people," called "Gog and Magog," and makes them flee beyond the mountains to uninhibited lands ("Tsar Alexander of Macedon was not afraid of those peoples and began to fight them. It is not known, how long that war was raging, but those evil peoples got pertified and fled…").[150] On those mountains, Alexander then places trumpets, which produce noise every time wind blows. Hearing the noise, "Gog and Magog cry that Alexander is still alive." They are afraid of him and remain in their desolated lands. As this legend concludes, they will be released no sooner than the Doomsday occurs.[151]

This motif of Khmelnytsky's trickery was likely borrowed from the earlier tales and legends about famous European heroes, such as Alexander the Great and his war against wild ferocious people. Other typical "Alexandrian" motifs, such as "hero as knight" and "hero as victor in every war" are not explicitly used in *chronicate*, collected by Kulish. However, this account ends with the hero, — Bohdan Khmelnytsky, — chases the Poles beyond Cossack lands. Therefore, it is possible that this *chronicate* was composed by somebody who either was familiar with the core of the above-mentioned text about Alexander the Great's deeds, or just knew the motif of trumpets and hero's trickery.

The other *chronicate* also portrays Khmelnytsky-the father as a trickster, but also as a shrewd military tactician, who brought about scores of other victories:

> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (C, № 3)**: …Khmelnytsky rode to the Sich along the other bank of Dnipro and he arrived at the Sich, and there were stationed [Polish] soldiers, who were taxing the Cossacks by claiming every tenth fish that was caught. So, Khmelnytsky, secretly showing the King's letter (about the privileges to the Cossacks— *R. S.*) only to the Cossacks, advised them on how to get rid of the Polish garrison: "I shall go down to

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[150] Aleksandr Afanas'ev, *Narodnye russkie skazki v tr'okh tomakh* [Russian folk tales], vol. 3 (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izd.-vo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1957), № 318.

[151] Ibid.

> the central square and start shouting: *To the council! To the council! To the council!* And each of you, upon hearing my call, must take and hide sticks under your sleeves, and when the disarmed soldiers come to the council then you will beat them down with those sticks."
> And so it happened. And afterwards, Khmelnytsky began his campaign and defeated the Poles at Zhovti Vody and Korsun, and chased them beyond the river Sluch and said: "*Beware, Poles, our land stretches up to the Sluch!*"[152]

In the next *chronicate*, Bohdan Khmelnytsky's trickery gives the Cossacks an advantage over the Poles; at the same time it brings ruin onto Ukrainian lands:

> **Anonymous, collected by Panteleimon Kulish (C, № 6)**: Once upon a time, the Poles began to oppress the Cossacks mercilessly. There were twice as many Poles as Cossacks that came to Zaporozhzha (the lands of the Cossacks beyond the rapids— *R. S.*) So, the Cossacks wrote letters to the Polish King saying that the Polish soldiers caused the Cossacks so heavy a burden that it led to Cossacks' ruin. Well, the King issued "privileges" to them. And [the acting Hetman of the Cossacks] Barabash hid those "privileges" // without showing them to anybody. So, the Poles continued oppressing the Cossacks. At that time Khmelnytsky was the secretary of Barabash, in his residence in Chyhyryn. Khmelnytsky lived in his manor at Subotiv and went to Chyhyryn where he served as secretary. Once, when Khmelnytsky fathered a son, he invited Hetman Barabash to be the godparent to his new born child. As soon as Khmelnytsky had the Hetman heavily intoxicated, he snatched the Hetman's kerchief out of the Hetman's pocket and the ring off his finger and dispatched a servant to Chyhyryn. "Take two horses and ride swiftly to Chyhyryn and bring those privileges to me!"
> That servant rode to the Hetman's wife: "Mistress! Our Cossacks began a quarrel with the Hetman, —they might slay him with sabers; so give us those privileges that the King issued to us, to avert this danger!"
> "Over there," she said, "they are buried under the gates, in the dark corner of the stable, hidden in the jewelry box."

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[152] Kulish, vol 1, pp. 275-276. See Appendix C (№ 3).

> The Hetman woke up: “O, fellow godfather,” he said, “brother! I remember that I had a kerchief in my pocket and a golden ring on my finger, and now they are gone!” //
> “My servant helped to undress you before taking you to your bed, so he removed them.”
> And while saying, that Khmelnytsky was looking in the window. The Hetman also took a look and saw the servant taking his exausted horse to the stable! Ha-Ha-Ha! Only then, Barabash realized that Khmelnytsky snatched the King’s “privileges”:
>
> “O, Khmel, dear Khmel,” he said
> You started a mutiny
> And great havoc among the nobility.
> Would it be better not to do this and enjoy
> The precious garments and money without a count;
> Would it be better not to be in peace with the nobles,
> Then to be hiding in the valleys of Bazavluh,
> Feeding the mosquitoes with your own blood!”
>
> The Hetman Barabash went home and Khmelnytsky, with a servant, harnessed their steeds and rode to the Sich. He came there, and beat the drums, and assembled the Cossacks. One time Khmelnytsky read the text of the King’s memorandum— nobody paid attention; second // time he read it— nobody paid attention; when he read it the third time, the Cossacks rose and got ready for battle.[153]

As mentioned before, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky generally commends a positive attitude in Ukrainian folklore. However, some texts contain references to unpopular actions by Khmelnytsky-the father. For instance, in one text, actually a fragment, he deprives the Cossacks of all valuables, though the reason for such an act by the Hetman is not given: “…When the Cossack troops of Khmelnytsky encamped over the river of Sluch, on the hill, he took everything from his host, that no money was left for the Cossacks either in their pockets or hidden in other places...”[154] Also, not in a single folk prose text analyzed in this dissertation, is Bohdan Khmelnytsky shown as a defender of common people before the injustice of the mighty.

None of the available texts seem to empower Bohdan Khmelnytsky with supernatural qualities. He is portrayed not as a noble knight or as *kharakternyk*, but rather as a clever military tactician and shrewd politician, who knew how to achieve his objectives. Bohdan Khmelnytsky is generally described in a favorable light, even though there is at least one fragment, which implies criticism of some of his actions. Bohdan Khmelnytsky was most likely considered a patron, a father-like figure for the Cossacks, rather than a true "culture hero" of the Ukrainian people, as were Chieftain Ivan Sirko or Colonel Semen Palii.

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[153] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 166-169. See Appendix C (№ 6). For the motif of “ruin” (financial) also see Appendix C (№ 2).

[154] Ibid., pp. 148. See Appendix C (№ 2).

Considering what has been said about the portrayal of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Ukrainian folk prose, I have to disagree with Oleksandr Hrytsenko, who names folk prose as one of the main sources, on the basis of which a creation of "Khmelnytsky's myth" in Ukrainian culture occurred.[155] However, I concede that Hrytsenko's views on the popularity of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in folk *dumy* and the panegyric literature of the 1600s and 1700s are useful and can be accepted.[156]

Unlike his father, the portrayal of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's son Yurii in folklore is negative. Because of the fact that Yurii Khmelnytsky, as a historical figure, was a weak ruler and pledged allegiance to the Turkish sultan, texts in Ukrainian folklore depict him as an apostate:

> **Anonymous, collected by Panteleimon Kulish (C, № 7)**: The son of [Bohdan] Khmelnytsky went over to the Moslems (betrayed his faith— *R. S.*) and hit the dome of his father's church with a cannon [ball] from the top of Mount Valka, in order to find his father's money, reportedly hidden in the dome of that church.
>
> He would have come for the money, even to Subotiv, were he not afraid of the army quartered there; so in his rage, he wanted to destroy the church.
>
> Khmelnytsky's son is still alive. Our old wandering traders told me that they saw him with their own eyes, in the mountains, and he confirmed himself saying: "I am Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's son." A viper sucks his blood and he will suffer // and will wander into the mountains till Doomsday, and only then God will pardon his going over to the Moslems, and his wanting to destroy his father's church.[157]

What is notable about this text is how the topic of the desecration of Christian shrines, and of Christian faith, is being used with the purpose of creating a strong anti-hero image in Ukrainian folklore. The actions of desecration by an anti-hero are followed by the motif of God's retribution, popular in religious tales, which emerged as the result of the projection of the Christian church's teaching onto the vernacular tradition.[158]

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[155] Oleksandr Hrytsenko, "Arkhetypal'nyi volodar (Bohdan Khmelnytsky)" [Archetypal ruler (Bohdan Khmelnytsky)], *Heroi ta znamenytosti v ukrains'kii kul'turi* (Kyiv: Ukrains'kyi tsentr kul'turnykh doslidzhen', 1999), pp. 13-84 (on page 13).

[156] Ibid., pp. 13, 22-23.

[157] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 277-278. See Appendix C (№ 7).

Similar motifs present a serpent as a punishment to humankind for its sins (e.g. breaking a sacred promise) — it either crawls into the sinner's mouth or strangles him/her.[159] However, the case of Khmelnytsky-the son and his sin is twofold: Yurii appears to betray his faith and his God, and breaks away from his father's legacy.

Also, the motif of an apostate shooting at the church with cannon is employed as a traditional element in depicting the personality and actions by the anti-hero. Similarly, another representative of the Cossack elite, Hetman Ivan Mazepa, also disliked by the folk, is shown shooting at the church: "...Mazepa was such a knight that upon placing a canon on the palm of his hand he could shoot from Bykiv and destroy the Church in Oster..."[160] Therefore, it is possible to speak of the unmistakable connection between the portrayal of an ungodly act and the presentation of such a person as an "anti-hero." More will be said about Hetman Mazepa, when the "culture hero – anti-hero" (respectively Colonel Semen Palii and Hetman Ivan Mazepa) pair will be discussed. At this point, I would like to introduce a discussion of one of the most popular "culture heroes" among Ukrainian people— a Cossack Chieftain Ivan Sirko.

All four legends about Ivan Sirko, presented and analyzed in this dissertation, were collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky in the former lands of the Zaporozhian Cossacks— the home to the Sirko's Zaporozhian Host. Arguably the most celebrated Cossack military leader in 17th century Ukraine, Sirko emerges in folklore as a *kharakternyk*. In fact, many of the motifs, discussed in the section which deals with natural and supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks, come from the stories about this popular Cossack leader. The motif "a Cossack is shot at; catches bullets" occupies an important place in the legends about Chieftain Sirko:

> **Hrytsko Taran (C, № 8)**: —What kind of a person was Cossack Chieftain Sirko?

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[158] See "God repays and punishes" (types 750-779).

[159] Reference is being made to the "Punishment of men" (type 840) and the "The Serpent at the wedding" (type 842B*) in *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*, pp. 282-283. See a similar motif of the encounter between a Cossack Chieftain and a sinful man, whom the serpent was tormenting, in a variant, collected by H. Boiko. See Appendix A (№ 11). See the motif "Ghost of church desecrator cannot rest" (E 412.5) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 2, p. 442; vol. 6, p. 140.

[160] Kulish, vol.1, pp. 117-121 (on page 118). See Appendix C (№ 13). Also, in regard to the motif of Mazepa desecrating the church, see a fragment, cited in Appendix C (№ 14): "...he put the cannons on the Baturin church and was [shooting] from there..."

> — He was a Chieftain. He was a sorcerer. Once in a while, he would come out of his hut and call for his adjutant: "Come on, lad, take a pistol, stand over there and shoot me in the arm!"
> That lad would raise his hand with a pistol and — b-a-n-g! [put a bullet right through Chieftain Sirko's] arm.
> And Sirko would take that bullet and squeeze it in his hand and throw it back.
> All of those Zaporozhian Cossacks were wizards…[161]

In another legend, Sirko is shown as someone, who "sees what others cannot see." This motif resembles the one, which depicts the Cossack Chieftain Kravchyna as having seen enemies through a magical mirror. The second motif in this text can be described as "a Cossack is attacked with another weapon." Both motifs fall under type one, which characterizes the supernatural abilities of the Cossacks, namely "the invincibility of a Cossack *kharakternyk*":

> **Dmytro Bykovsky (C, № 9)**: Sirko was a great warrior. He could read thoughts in one's head. So, over there, on the other side of the river Dnipro the Tatars used to live, all Moslems. As soon as they devised to go into the war, Sirko would tell Cossacks:
> —Assemble the troops for the horde is rising against us!
> He was so strong that if anybody struk his arm with a saber, he would not cut even the skin on Sirko's arm— only blue marks would remain. And that would be done not with a bullet, but with a saber! Regardless of what those Tatars were plotting to do to him, they would not succeed. That is why they were calling him Satan…[162]

The third legend about Sirko portrays him as a "shape-shifter" and as a savior of the Christian people from captivity:[163]

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[161] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 193. See Appendix C (№ 8).

[162] Ibid. See Appendix C (№ 9).

[163] For the motif of a hero turning into a wolf or a hound in Ukrainian folklore see "Woman curses her sons, they turn into wolves," "How one lad turned into a hound' and so forth in *Kazky ta opovidannia z Podillia v zapysakh 1850kh-1860kh rokiv* [Tales and stories from Podillia, recorded during the 1850s-1860s], ed. Mykola Levchenko (Kyiv: Ukrains'ka akademiia nauk, 1928), pp. 449-451. Also, in one of the literary texts, *Slovo o Polku Ihorevim* [A story of prince Ihor's campaign against polovtsy]), one of the ancient Rus' princes is credited with being a "shape-shifter."

> **Kh. Dobrun (C, № 10)**: This happened long, long ago, during the time when the Zaporozhian Cossacks and their Chieftain Sirko had lived. And even though many years have passed since Sirko's death, the rumors of his glorious deeds are still alive. He was ruthless and terrible with his enemies and a very kind person with Christians.
>
> Once upon a time, the Cossacks went to battle under Sirko's leadership, and the Tatars, upon hearing about this, attacked the Sich and took it over. They // did what they wanted to do: capturing all the Orthodox Christians and taking them into captivity. The Tatars were chasing the captives and those poor folks were crying for they did not want to go into captivity, crying so hard that the earth was moaning. But the Tatars did not feel pity for their weeping and were chasing the captives with whips. Somehow, the Chieftain Sirko learned about that. At once, he and his Cossacks rushed to overtake the Tatars and free the Christians. Sirko was riding as fast as a bird! Upon catching up with the Tatars, Sirko saw that they were too many for so few of his Cossacks, and resorted to a trick: he halted his steed and shouted to the Cossacks:
>
> —Halt, brethren, wait and do not move!
>
> They halted and stood still. Sirko dismounted his steed and told a Cossack to hold it. Then Sirko changed his form into a hound and ran towards the Tatars. Tatars saw the hound and came to liking such a nice dog. They invited and fed the hound and left it in their encampment. And when Tatars rested, that hound made them fall fast asleep. Then [Sirko as a hound] ran towards his Cossacks and turned back into a man again. Then he, with his Cossacks, rushed against the Tatars and slew all of them, and sent the liberated Christians back home to their towns.
>
> The Christians thanked Sirko and went home happily, and Sirko, together with his Cossacks, returned to their old ways of life.[164]

In the fourth legend about Chieftain Sirko, the extremities of his body are being portrayed as a source of magical powers:

> **T. Zabutnii (C, № 11)**: Really his name was not "Sirko," but "Sirentii the Righthanded." When Sirentii was dying, his last will was that [his Cossacks] had his right arm cut off and they were to carry it [to battles] for seven years:

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[164] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, pp. 193-194. See Appendix C (№ 10).

> —When I die then cut off my right arm and carry it with you for seven years. And wherever you go, I shall be with you. If you were to carry my arm, my "master arm" will lead you into battle. And after seven years, excavate my body and put my arm into my coffin.
>
> So, Sirentii's arm was with his Cossacks for seven years...[165]

This motif was discussed in a previous section, dedicated to the natural and supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks. At this point, I would like stress the fact that the ritual dismemberment and ascribing magical characteristics to a person's body parts have their roots in pre-Christian totemistic beliefs. However, keeping in mind the existence of similar beliefs/rituals in Christian culture and the frequent association of the Cossacks with the knights of old, I suggest searching the Christian culture for the origin of this Sirko motif. My argument is that by the time the legends and stories about Sirko emerged, the older, pre-Christian layers of folklore must have been largely replaced by new, Christian motifs.[166]

From medieval times, the tradition of knights possessing certain relics (e.g., parts of the Holy Cross, the bone of a particular saint) is well known among the scholars from the various fields. In Ukrainian Christian tradition, there is a well-known custom of the veneration of the saints (e.g., bodies of the saints from Kyiv Caves Monastery). That is why it is likely that this motif was inspired by a centuries-long tradition and/or made its way to Ukrainian folklore from literary works. The time of this motif's appropriation into Ukrainian folklore remains uncertain— in fact, it could have occurred as early as the 11th or 12th centuries and as late as the 19th century. In the former case, we are dealing here with a centuries-long process of adaptation regarding certain motif(s) by literary and folklore traditions. Reconstructing this process and pinpointing texts, from which this motif might have been introduced to the mentioned legend about Chieftain Sirko, is extremely difficult, if possible at all.

In the latter case, this motif could have come into Ukrainian culture with the Polish and Ukrainian literary works, in which the knights (and the Cossacks) and their service to the Christian cause were praised. In this case, the motif, along with other "knightly" motifs, could have been introduced between the 16th century[167] and the beginning of "romantic" movement in Ukrainian literature during the 1800s.

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[165] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 194. See Appendix C (№ 11). Also, in relation to the motif of sacredness of hero's burial place and the taboo about harming it, see the motifs "Taboo: going in a certain direction while tending cattle" (C 614.1.0.1) and "One forbidden place" (C 610) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, pp. 526-527.

[166] At the same time it must be noted that traces of certain pre-Christian beliefs and rituals were incorporated by Chrsitianity and survived among Ukrainian peasants.

[167] See a discussion on the "knights" in section 4.2 of this chapter.

In yet another motif used in this legend, one may see that the very mound of this "culture hero" is a sacred place and the magical powers of the hero prevent it from being desecrated ("...Indeed, Sirentii's tomb will never allow anybody to work around it..."[168]

It is worth noting that the true deeds of "historical" Chieftain Ivan Sirko became overshadowed by his representation in folklore as a *kharakternyk*. It is most likely that the original stories about Sirko (*opovidannia*), composed during or right after this character's lifetime, contained many true facts about Sirko's life. However, eventually, with every re-telling of an original story (*perekazy*), some of those facts were forgotten or discarded and new, fantastic, motifs took their place. The fact, that 19th century legends about Sirko contain very few details about his life and deeds, especially historical ones, supports this hypothesis.

Overall, Chieftain Ivan Sirko emerges in folklore as a genuine "culture hero." Unlike, for instance, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who is portrayed as a human-like figure with all his achievements and shortcomings, Sirko is described as a bearer of supernatural characteristics, the defender of Christianity and common people, demonstrating the level of perfection, reserved only for the folk's true heroes.

Nonetheless, it is the Cossack Colonel of Fastiv, Semen Palii, who may be considered a champion "culture hero" among the Cossack personalities in Ukrainian folk legends. As a matter of fact, the source base of this dissertation contains nine texts in which Semen Palii emerges as a popular hero; no other historical figure seems to enjoy such popularity.

It also appears that the stories about Palii circulated on both Right- and Left-Bank Ukraine and some of those texts were recorded by prominent scholars and collectors of folklore, such as Panteleimon Kulish, Volodymyr Menchits, Ivan Manzhura and Porfyrii Martynovych. The folk prose texts about Semen Palii offer a number of original types and motifs, which, in turn, convey the folk beliefs about this popular hero.

Indisputably, the most popular motif (or rather "type") in the folk prose texts about Palii is that of his conflict with Hetman Ivan Mazepa— an infamous anti-hero of Ukrainian folklore, who betrayed the Russian Tsar Peter I. Eight out of nine texts about Palii fall under this very type. What is interesting is that in order to emphasize the positive qualities, motivations and achievements of such a "culture hero" as Semen Palii, the majority of the informants resort to the image of a powerful antagonist against Palii— a mighty knight, and an anti-hero, Ivan Mazepa.[169] At the same time, Tsar Peter's portrayal in folklore is nothing short of comical: he is feeble, he depends on the Cossacks' help, he is enchanted and used by Mazepa, and is betrayed by Mazepa's "son."

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[168] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 194.

[169] In one text, Mazepa is replaced by an alternate character, called *Mazepenko*, which literally means "the son of Mazepa." With this substitution all negative characteristics of the major antagonist — Mazepa himself — are being transferred to his fictitious "son."

Texts, which explore the type, in which Palii is having a conflict with Mazepa over the latter's betrayal of the Russian Tsar, begin with the motif of Palii's incarceration. The reason behind this incarceration was that Palii was in a position to ruin the treacherous plans of "the chief antagonist," Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Upon removing Palii, Mazepa opens a campaign against the Russian Tsar Peter, inflicting defeats upon this ruler and causing him great sorrow:

> **The first variant, collected by Panteleimon Kulish from anonymous informant (C, № 12, excerpt 1)**: Mazepa was afraid of Palii overcoming him in battle, so Mazepa took Palii and confined him to a pillar, which had only a small window and otherwise was [totally] incarcerated; only from time to time, loafs of bread from kind people kept Palii alive in his prison.
> So, upon Palii's imprisonment, Mazepa began the war against the Tsar. And back then there was not much to the Muscovite state. It is only now that our ruler increased his domain: our Gracious Lord allowed the Tsar to capture enough of the cities and lands. And back then, there was not much of a Muscovite land, // merely a sleeve and that's that.
> So, Mazepa was completely winning over the Tsar...[170]
>
> **The second variant by Kulish from anonymous informant (C, № 13, excerpt 1)**: Once upon a time, Mazepa had fathered a son. Tsar Peter the First was godfather to that child. Once, when they were really drunk, Peter called after the Cossack, Stephan Plakha. [And that Stephan Plakha was such a man that could have foreseen everything for a hundred years to come.]
> "Tell me, Stephan Plakha," Tsar Peter said, "what awaits me?"
> "There is an answer to this question, too, o Tsar," Plakha responded: "in thirty years the child you baptized will be waging war against you."
> "You are a liar, Stephan!" Peter said: "how could that be that the child of my own would turn against me?"
> So, the Tsar ordered Plakha to be chained and confined in prison… // And in due course the son of Mazepa was coming to force, and when he turned thirty, he assembled an army— and went to the steppes! And he turned antagonistic. "Hey," the son of Mazepa said, "Tsar! Come and face me in battle!" Peter was frightened: he knew that no force he could muster would be

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[170] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 115-116 (on page 115). See Appendix C (№ 12).

enough to overwhelm young Mazepa. Young Mazepa was such a mighty knight, that upon placing cannon on the palm of his hand, he could shoot from Bykiv and destroy the church at Oster…
[Heavy] thoughts filled Tsar Peter's head; he became saddened in his capital without seeing any way out. And an old soldier told the Tsar: "So, o Tsar," he said, "now you see that Stephan Plakha was telling you the truth, does you not?"… [171]

The third variant Kulish from anonymous informant (C, № 14, excerpt 1): Once upon a time there lived Hetman Mazepa, who was called "father" by the Russian Tsar. Kochubei and Iskra learned that, together with the Swedes, Mazepa wanted to attack the eastern (Russian— *R. S.*) Tsar and went to the eastern Tsar saying: "Look," they said, "a Tsar of the eastern domain! Mazepa wants to attack you." But the Tsar did not believe them: "How is it possible," the Tsar responded, "that he wants to attack me?"…
As soon as Kochubei and Iskra left, the envoy came running towards the Tsar: "Assume the battle order," the envoy said, "or Mazepa will attack you!" //
…So, when Mazepa began to attack the Tsar, only God knew what Mazepa was up to. He placed cannons on the Baturin church and was shooting from there. Shooting so hard and with such precision…that our troops panicked and defeat drew near! The Tsar was complaining: "Is there a man in our realm who would know how to overwhelm Mazepa?"…
One old Zaporozhian Cossack dared to note: "…our host has such a person, by the name Semen Palii…"[172]

Anonymous, collected by Volodymyr Menchits (C, № 16):
…an old man by name of Kovbasa, said that he had heard stories about the hordes from his father, and witnessed *koliivshchyna* (a powerful peasant and Cossack rebellion on the Right-Bank Ukraine against Polish domination (1768-69) — *R. S.*) himself…
So, Kovbasa would tell you about those hordes. That was the time of the cursed Mazepa (unclear whether the narrator had a personal animosity towards the Cossack Hetman of old or simply referred to the anathema of this political figure, displayed in the Russian churches— *R. S.*) and after his rule the horde began to roam (the Ukrainian lands).

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[171] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 117-121 (on pages 117-118). See Appendix C (№ 13).

[172] Ibid., pp. 123-128 (on pages 123-125). See Appendix C (№ 14). For the "captivity," see the motifs "Places of captivity" (R 40) and "Other places of captivity" (R 49) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, pp. 272, 274.

> Back then, Mazepa was waging war against the Russian Tsar. Back then, the city of Petersburg was not Russian, but belonged to the Swedes, and the Russian Tsar had Moscow as his capital. Well, Mazepa enchanted the Tsar in Moscow, and so Mazepa succeeded in this enterprise, that at the end, the Tsar fell completely under his influence. That's how that Mazepa overpowered him.
>
> And so powerful Mazepa had become, that the Tsar could hardly fight against him [with any prospect of winning the war]. So, the Tsar began asking Mazepa: "give me," he was saying, "three days of rest"... And when those events were unfolding, Semen Palii, a great warrior, lived. And when the accursed Mazepa wanted to defeat the Tsar, he had Palii locked in prison and Palii spent thirty years there. And upon incarcerating Palii Mazepa became so bold that he was prepared to fight anybody...[173]

In the second legend by Kulish, a rare motif is being used — the betrayal of a godparent (Tsar Peter) by his godson (a "son of Mazepa"), — which is absent from the Aarne-Thompson index of folk motifs. The closest motifs to this are called "Unfavorable prophecies" (M 340) and "Soldier as helper" (N 820).[174] In fact, "betrayal" emerges as an important category and symbolizes the betrayal of Christian faith by an anti-hero as well as the betrayal of a church-sanctified relation between godparents and godchildren. On the other hand, Palii,[175] as the "culture hero," is shown as a pious Christian, who spends his time before battle praying in the church. As for the third legend, it demonstrates closer connection to actual history of Mazepa's "treason," particularly in the part, where it mentions the mission of Colonels Iskra and Kochubei, who reported on their Hetman to the Tsar. However, after that episode this legend parts with history by not telling the actual story, according to which historical Iskra and Kochubei were not believed by the Tsar, turned to Mazepa and eventually executed. Once again, legend reinterprets the past and historical figures by employing various fantastic motifs. However, the general emphasis on reality of the events, which feature the actual, historical characters, remains.

It must be said that an encounter between a "culture hero" Semen Palii and the "anti-hero" Hetman Ivan Mazepa in folklore reaches epic proportions: they are both mighty knights in a traditional sense and they are both *kharakternyky*, though in folk legends Mazepa appears as Palii's apprentice. However, they are fighting for different causes and as goodness wins over evil, hero Colonel Palii decisively overwhelms folk "anti-hero" Hetman Mazepa:

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[173] Dragomanov, pp. 201-204 (on page 201). See Appendix C (№ 16).

[174] Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, pp. 53, 137; vol. 6, p. 726.

[175] Here, I make a claim that on the basis of similarity of the motifs, used in all four legends, that the legend about Stephan Plakha, in fact, was modeled after similar legends about Semen Palii and portrayed the deeds of Palii himself, as they were perceived by the Ukrainian folk. At the same time, it is also possible that "Plakha" represents the cumulative image of a Cossack, faithful to the Russian Tsar, and emerged as a popular reflection of services rendered to Peter I by Vasyl' Kochubei, Iskra and Semen Palii.

> **The first variant by Kulish (C, № 12, excerpt 2)**: …And the Tsar, upon hearing where Palii lived in confinement, at once dispatched people to destroy that pillar and to deliver Palii. So, when [they liberated Palii, he was shaking because of feebleness. So, the Tsar was forced to seek a twelve-day truce with Mazepa, until Palii regain his strength. And when Palii regained it, he mounted his steed and circled around Mazepa's army and erected a spear so that the soldiers of Mazepa's host imagined a thick forest in front of them. Well, when they were riding through that "forest" bowing their heads [to avoid the branches of those "trees"] Palii's Cossacks began to chop their heads off. Upon seeing this debacle, Mazepa ordered the drummers to beat retreat: "Hey, brethren, run away for that old cunny dog of Palii is still alive!"[176]
>
> **The third variant by Kulish (C, № 14, excerpt 2)**: …And for you to know, Mazepa was trained by Palii himself. And Tsar said: "Well, Palii. You can do nothing to him, for he has learned all of your tricks from you."
> "No, o Tsar," Palii responded, "even though he has been trained by me I have not told him all of my secrets."
> So, Palii loaded the cannons and positioned them across from each other: one looking here, and another one looking there… "Now, shoot," Palii said… They shot away…and defeated Mazepa…//
> The Tsar wanted to massacre all of the Hetmanate's people … And Palii said: … "Do not plunder the Hetmanate."
> "Very well," the Tsar said, "I leave it alone because of you."[177]

In one legend, an account of the conflict between Stephan Plakha (Semen Palii) and Ivan Mazepa's "son" introduces a very interesting motif, which brings the accounts about their feud closer to the fantastic tales, popular among the Ukrainian, Russian and other Slavic people— the motif of a fight between the knight and the dragon. In this legend, Plakha-Palii is portrayed as a Christian knight. The motifs of his feasting for three days prior to a battle correspond to a similar motif, present in a number of fantastic tales about the knights (e.g., "he drinks one day, he drinks the second day, he drinks the third day…mounts his horse and goes into battle").[178] Also, the special bond between Plakha and his horse is characteristic for both the knight tales of "princely times," and prose and recitations, which relay the events of the Cossack era."[179]

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[176] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 115-116 (on page 116). See Appendix C (№ 12).
[177] Ibid., pp. 123-128 (on page 127). See Appendix C (№ 14).

As for the anti-hero, the "son" of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, his portrayal as a dragon is shown through the motif of his encounter with Plakha-Palii and his eleven helpers. Mazepa-the dragon is hard to kill— he is grinding on eleven spears, which the eleven helpers of the knight were trying to kill him with, until the thrust by Plakha's twelfth spear brought him death. Finally, Plakha-the knight burns the corpse of the anti-hero to ashes, similar to how the dragon's end is shown in some of the fantastic tales:

> **The second variant by Kulish (C, № 13, excerpt 3)**: …So, Plakha went on feasting. He drank on the first day, on the second and on the third; and when he got satisfied, he summoned eleven Cossacks, and being himself the twelfth // he rode to the steppe. Soon he spotted Mazepa's army and circled around them while riding his steed. As soon as Plakha did that, the Mazepa's son's Cossacks became possessed and began piercing and cleaving one another. And the son of Mazepa rode away fleeing; Stephan Plakha and his detail took after him. They caught up with the fugitive very fast and pierced him with a spear. But young Mazepa was the devil's beast! He grinded on one spear, on another one…and this way young Mazepa consumed all eleven spears in total; but the thrust of Plakha with the twelfth spear brought the end to young Mazepa.
>
> And then Stephan took young Mazepa, burned his corpse and threw his ashes throughout the steppe…[180]

Another separate type in the stories about Semen Palii resembles the type from the legend about the beginning of the Cossacks (A, № 11), and follows the pattern of portraying the "hero" in international folklore.[181] *Fabulate*, collected by P. Reviakin in the Kyiv region (1847), describes the birth of Palii from the ashes, obtained from burning the dead head, and which was then consumed by a maiden. She gives birth to a boy, who grows up and enters the service with the Cossack Host. Seeking for recognition by the Cossack brotherhood, this hero burns the Chieftain's headquarters and for that he receives his name "Palii" (The Burner):

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[178] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 119-120. See Appendix C (№ 13).

[179] For a "special bond between a knight and his horse" see Appendix B (№ 20) and C (№ 14).

[180] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 117-121 (on pages 119-121). See Appendix C (№ 13).

[181] See Appendix A (№ 11).

> **T. Iarovyi (C, № 18)**: Once upon a time, a man lived with his wife and children in Motovilivka. One day he went to plough. So, he was ploughing and asking God for an abundant harvest… Close to the evening, he felt that his plough stumbled over something. He looked — and saw a huge dead head.
> —God Almighty! This head must have belonged to some knight — the man thought... //
> He took that head beyond his cherry orchard right down the wide-open field, set a bonfire and began to burn it. Well, the head was burning till it burned down to ashes, which was as white as sugar. The man took a glance at the ashes and, God knows why, wrapped that white powder into his kerchief…brought it home and put it on the shelf without telling any one about this.
> In no time, maybe a day later, only a daughter and a little son of that man were left in charge of that household. The daughter had already put the borshcht in the oven...only salt had to be added yet, — but there was no salt in their household left.
> —Over there, Halia, something white wrapped in the kerchief lies on the shelf; this could be salt, — her brother told her.
> The sister climbed the bench…tried those ashes once— nothing, tried second time, third… In ten weeks or a little bit more, — the daughter fell in her father's-mother's feet [begging for pardon] saying:
> —I am pregnant; it happened so and so.
> …And in half a year that man's daughter delivered a son. He was baptized and called Semen Bezbatchenko (the one, brought up without the father; see the resembling motif in Appendix A (№ 11) — *R. S.*)
> The boy was growing and began working, looking after a herd of oxen, and once Zaporozhian Cossacks were passing through Motovilivka…and lured that boy to Velykyi Luh (the lands of Zaporozhian Cossacks' domain in the delta of Dnipro river— *R. S.*). And in the Sich, the Chieftain distinguished that boy and made him cadet. So, Semen was serving and serving, but without any recognition.
> "You just wait and I shall deserve recognition!" — Semen thought. He burned the Chieftain's hut and ran away home.[182]

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[182] This detail explains the origin of Semen Palii's Cossack name— Palii ("The Burner").

> — Oh! That's what you are! — the Chieftain acknowledged… One day this boy will turn into a knight! ...[183]

On another occasion, Palii enters the fight between the Good and Evil as a champion of good cause. He kills a serpent (devil) with his gun.[184] The Chieftain tells Palii that his purpose is to "fight against the ungodly," because he is "a man, dedicated to God."[185] Consequently, the later description of Palii's role in fighting against the Poles, Tatars and Hetman Mazepa make the opponents of Semen Palii "ungodly" and evil. This impression is affirmed by portraying Hetman Mazepa as an evil and envious person, who, supposedly, kills Palii, because "…people deemed Palii and not him, Mazepa, to be the father of all Cossacks."[186] Another idea, implicitly conveyed through the portrayal of Palii and Mazepa as rivals, is that rich and powerful people, who rule over the commoners, are evil by nature, while the defenders of the common people simply must be good because of this very reason.

As I have mentioned before, the combination of the features of a magician with features, traditionally attributed to a "Christian knight," demanded from the folk to mend the possible conflict of the following ideologies: "clean and pure Christian faith" and "dark, pagan-induced sorcery." Both texts, in which such attempts have been made, deal with the personality of Semen Palii. A necessity to explain this contradiction manifested itself in the texts about Palii, clearly pointing to him as the champion "culture hero," as was mentioned at the very beginning of this discussion:

> **The third variant Kulish (C, № 14, excerpt 3)**: … And Palii was such a knight, that he was waging war using not sorcery, but with the help of Angels— he could ride throughout the enemies' lines without being seen and when he looked into someone's eye, that person would not be able to take it…[187]
>
> **Anonymous, collected by Ivan Manzhura (C, № 17)**: …Palii loaded his rifle with a silver bullet and shot at Mazepa and the

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[183] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, pp.216-218 (on pages 216-217). See Appendix C (№ 18). Also see the resembling motifs "Supernatural origins of hero; magical conception" (Z 216) and "Hero born out of wedlock" (Z 255) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, pp. 564-565.

[184] For a "devil in animal form" see the following motifs: "Transformation: devil to animal" (D 102) and "Devil is killed by hunter. A slake of tar remains" (G 303.16.19.20) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 2, p. 14; vol. 3, p. 340; vol. 6, pp. 207-208.

[185] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, pp.216-218.

[186] Ibid.

[187] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 123-128 (on page 126). See Appendix C (№ 14).

> king of Sweden, Charles, who were having dinner at that time, and the bullet fell into their bowl and the food in this bowl turned into boiling blood. "O, I see," Mazepa said, "Palii is at large already!" Mazepa and Charles began running away and killed one another while making an escape. — "What did Palii do?" //
> — "Nobody knows, but he was a wizard, a Godly one."[188]

The "Godly wizard" motif receives its further development in *chronicate*, dedicated in part to Cossack Hetman Pavlo Polubotok. Historical figure Polubotok was an affluent and respected member of the Cossack nobility. After the "Mazepa affair," Tsar Peter was anxious not to have another "traitor" as Ukrainian Cossack Hetman. Considering Polubotok as having all the necessary makings for assuming such a role, Peter had him confined in prison, until the Hetman passed away. The death of Peter himself followed soon after the departure of Polubotok, a circumstance, which inspired various folklore versions about "Polubotok's curse":

> **Anonymous, collected by I. Kosach (C, № 20)**: ...That was happening very long ago, so long ago that I cannot even recollect it; back then all Ukrainian people were free and life was different from what it is nowadays! And when they started to draft people into the army, my grandfather remembered this and everybody knows about this!
> At that time Peter, the husband of Catherine, was Tsar (you see back then he was alive and reigned and after his death she ruled). It took a long time before they started the draft. I say that during that time, Hetmancy belonged to Polubotok, who was in charge of entire Ukraine. Somehow Peter sent letters to Polubotok, demanding draftees from among Ukrainians; Polubotok read those letters and replied: "it has never been so and it will never be so that Ukrainians would be drafted. I will not allow this for as long as I live and even upon my death it will never happen!" —The Tsar wrote him the second time. Polubotok refused him again! The Tsar wrote to Polubotok the third time and ordered him: "if you, Polubotok, do not want to send draftees from Ukraine, then come before my magnificent eyes and we shall discuss this issue"... Polubotok and his companions came to Petersburg and made their way before the Tsar. Upon seeing Polubotok the Tsar screamed: "Are you Pavlo Polubotok?" —"I am," the Hetman replied, "Pavlo Polubotok!" //

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[188] Dragomanov, pp. 205-206 (on page 206). See Appendix C (№ 17).

> —"How you dare obstruct my Tsarist will and not send the draftees from Ukraine [to me?]"
> —"So and so," Polubotok replied, "there has never been a draft from Ukraine and it must never be so."
> —"No draft?!" the Tsars boomed.
> —"Not while there is still life in me!" the Hetman replied....
> Polubotok was tormented: when they began to torment him, it lasted for three days. On the forth day, he was thrown into some hole in the fortress: closer to the evening the guards saw that there was light in that hole: Polubotok passed away as a holy martyr and the candles around him lit on their own. This was reported to the Tsar. He did not believe at first then went himself to observe that phenomenon. He came and saw that what he had heard was true! Following this, he approached Polubotok in order to be blessed by the martyr. And Polubotok raised his arm with the cross in it and hit the Tsar with the cross! He hit Tsar and said as followed: "You are Petro (Peter) and I am Pavlo (Paul)! I shall die today and you will follow me in a week; those, who want to take draftees from among the Ukrainians be cursed, both in this life and in the next one!" And he died.
> Tsar Peter tore the draft of the decree into pieces and composed another, which forbade the draft in Ukraine forever. And in a week, Peter died indeed...[189]

Events, depicted in this account, take place in the city, dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul, in the city's fortress, dedicated to those saints; and between two people, whose names are Peter and Paul. The symbolic meaning of those names in the text is obvious— the argument between the Tsar and the Hetman is not about earthly matters, but about ultimate Good and Evil, justice and injustice. Closer to the end, this text employs certain motifs, characteristic to a religious legend. What is extremely important is that Polubotok, as a "culture hero," is elevated to the level of a martyr and even a saint. In a very symbolic gesture, he denies the Tsar his blessing and sentences Peter to his death, which follows very soon. Thus, the motifs of "God's retribution for the human sins" and "Injustice, the worst of the monarch's sins" are being applied in a totally new combination, designed to create an image of a "Cossack as a Christian martyr." It also should be mentioned that since the 14th century, numerous stories about the circumstances of death of the last Grand Master of the Temple ("the Templars' curse") and the injustice of French King Phillip IV the Fair towards Jacques de Molay inspired a number of similar motifs in various European cultures.[190] From this perspective, the legendary story about the unjust ruler, Peter I, and a Holy Martyr, Polubotok, follows the tradition of this, or similar, motif's development and its adaptation on a different cultural ground.

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[189] Dragomanov, pp. 206-208. See Appendix C (№ 20).

[190] See Piers Paul Read, *The Templars* (London: Weidenfeld & Nickolson, 1999).

In the case of Cossack Chieftain Josyp Hladky, two available texts provide the researcher with a clue, regarding how a historical figure enters the realm of folklore and becomes "folklorized" during two or three-generation period. A "historical" Chieftain, Hladky became known during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829, when he returned to the Russian Empire from Turkey, bringing with him the descendants of those Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had fled Ukrainian lands in the wake of the liquidation of their order by the Russians (1775). The first text, — a *fabulate*, — about Hladky was published by Kulish in 1856, which means that it had to be collected even earlier. That left the people with very little time to develop a folklore character of Hladky and to come up with a developed conceptualization of his image. What we see in the variant collected by Kulish, is a very schematic description of Hladky as a "Cossack knight." The details of his description are lacking, except for the part where his birth produced an omen — probably of his future deeds— in the form of a quake:

> **Anonymous, collected by Panteleimon Kulish (C, № 23)**: Back then, when that very war was raging, God knows why many people were shocked. They used to say: "Somewhere, such a knight must have been born that the whole earth has been shaking!" And it was during that calamity that Hladky was born.[191]

The other text about Chieftain Josyp Hladky is a *memorate*, collected by Porfyrii Martynovych from a person, who had known Hladky closely and even served under his command. Unlike the above-cited *fabulate*, this *memorate* offers a first-hand detailed story about the elevation of Hladky. Hryhorii Honchar portrays Hladky as an opportunist, an intelligent and shrewd person, who, though a newcomer became elected Chieftain of the Cossack Host, and by bringing the Cossacks back to the Russian Empire, received even greater recognition and rewards:

> **Hrytsko (Hryhorii) Honchar (C, № 22)**: ...Here, at the market in Veremiivka, were some bad people, who kept the brothel. Hrytsko (the merchant— *R. S.*) went there. He spent an entire night in there and when he woke up in the morning he found out that his money was stolen. "What am I going to do now?!..." I might as well go

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[191] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 165-166. See Appendix C (№ 23).

to Dnipro and commit suicide. He went to the river…and there he found Hladky who was pacing along the shore… Hrytsko-the assistant asked Hladky: "Who are you, where you are from and how did you get here?" And Hladky replied: "I am from [the village of] Demky…I used to be a Chieftain in Demky, but I was deposed // and all my estate was confiscated, so I went away… I shall go somewhere, to other towns, to find a job there…"

…Hladky was hired as an assistant to the merchant in Mykolaiv, and Hrystsko…went as far as Odesa and…found employment as a hired laborer…Once he filled the barrel with the water…and he was forced to ride up the hill…the harness gave way…and…the cart with that barrel went downhill…and there was a woman going [in opposite direction] uphill…that barrel ran that woman over, killing her… "And what am I going to do now?" Hrytsko asked himself… "I shall go as far as my legs are willing to take me"… I will go beyond the river Danube to Turkey to join the Zaporozhian Cossacks… And back then, beyond Danube, lived Zaporozhian Cossacks, who escaped to Turkey after the Sich had been destroyed. The people were escaping there from the landlords (from the serfdom), — and were establishing settlements. Over there among the settlements was a big one called Katyrlez: so, many people were escaping from their landlords…//

Well, Hrystsko came down to the Danube… he found Hladky who was pacing along the shore… Hrytsko asked Hladky: "What are you doing here?"… "I," Hladky said, "got hired by a merchant in Mykolaiv as his assistant…One day the master was off and I took…a thousand roubles…and ran away from Mykolaiv. I did that because my master was unwilling to pay me before letting me go… Now they are searching for me in Mykolaiv and I came here in order to escape to Turkey."

…So, both of them went to Turkey. Back then there was a crossing at the Danube, which led to Turkey…and the Muscovite guards…were stationed along the shore…and were searching for those wandering off to Turkey…//

And when soldiers spotted the runaways already sailing in the boat across Danube they were shooting at those people with rifles… That time it happened exactly as it was described.

…Hrytsko and Hladky came to Sich, the place, where Zaporozhians lived. They went to a Chieftain…and greeted him. So, the Chieftain asked them: "What are you looking for, lads?" They replied saying that they came to request to be accepted to the Zaporozhian Host. So, it came down to saying an oath [as a part of initiation]. They were made to swear an oath by raising their hands and the Chieftain began reading them the text of the oath… Upon

> submitting an oath they began to live among the Zaporozhian Cossacks. The Chieftain grew to like Hladky for his literacy and kept him close, while Hrytsko were to live with the enlisted Cossacks in their barracks…//
> …Well, they were living in there for some time… And their Chieftain was already getting old and was ailing… One day the Chieftain summoned the Zaporozhian Cossacks and told them: "I am old and sick…so, for whom would you vote Chieftain if I pass away?" And the Cossacks replied: "We will vote for whom you will tell us and elect that person." "In this case let Hladky be your new Chieftain: he is an experienced man and an educated one; he can supervise you…" So, the old Chieftain passed away and was buried. And Hladky, Joseph, son of Michael, became a Chieftain. And he remained in charge of the Cossack Host until those Cossacks returned to our Tsar's domain.
> And that was how they came back— The Turks were waging war on our Tsar. Thus, the Cossacks made an assembly and made up their mind: why should we, Christians, fight against the White Tsar? Let us not help the Turks. When the Muscovites entered the Turkish lands, Zaporozhian Cossacks were helping them to fight against the Turks. And the Russian Tsar went himself to Turkey… Chieftain Hladky…and other Zaporozhians with him sailed in the boat and… took the Tsar across Danube. The Tsar was delighted with the Cossacks. He thanked them. So, they began to request the Tsar…to let them return and live again in Russia…//
> …Well, those returning Cossacks got settled around the city of Rostov, but some of them remained in Turkey. So, they have caused the ongoing hostilities…Well, you may record that this story was being told to you by a person who went to and out off Turkey with Hladky.[192]

There is one more *memorate*, which equals the story, relayed by Cossack Honchar, in what appears to be a very realistic portrayal of historical events and Cossack leaders, who are absolutely devoid of any supernatural characteristics. In the *memorate* recorded by Priest Karelin from former Zaporozhian Cossack, Mykhailo Reshetniak, the circumstances of the sacking of the "old Sich" in 1709 by the Russian army are given through the prism of heroic deeds by Cossack Chieftain, Iakym Bohush:

> **Mykhailo Reshetniak (D, № 20)**: … I heard…from [the Cossack Chieftain] Bilytskyi that there would have been no such island

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[192] Martynovych, pp. 215-220 (on pages 217-220). See Appendix C (№ 22).

> whatsoever, but the Zaporozhians dug a moat and flooded it with water from the river of Chortomlyk, in order to escape the Russians' grip. At that time, there was an acting Chieftain, Iakym Bohush, a distinguished Cossack who was elected instead of Chieftain Kost Hordienko, who together with Mazepa betrayed the Russian Tsar; Bohush had ordered to dig the moat, separating himself from the shore, built a fortress on the top of the cliff, armed it with the cannons and ordered to take all of the Cossack treasures over there, and hid the boats behind the cliff in the river of Pavliuk. The Russians came together with the Cossacks of Hetmanate and were fighting Zaporozhians for a long time until they overcame them; foreseeing a defeat Bohush took the treasures, some cannons and the remaining Cossacks and sailed Pavliuk towards Turkish realm.[193]

This text is particularly valuable due to its relation to the oral tradition of Zaporozhian Cossacks of the second half of the 18th century. First of all, that account was collected from the Zaporozhian Cossack, who, in turn, had learned it from one the older Cossacks, in our case— informant's former superior, Cossack Chieftain Bilytskyi. In fact, the latter was telling about the events, which happened several decades ago. Therefore, Bilytskyi most likely learned it from the Cossacks, who may have been among the actual participants or witnesses to the actual historical event.

Overall, the following conclusion can be made on the basis of the texts analyzed in this section of Chapter 4. Apart from the chief anti-hero Ivan Mazepa, Yurii Khmelnytsky and a scarcely mentioned the murderer of Cossacks, Sava Chalyi,[194] the rest of the Cossack individuals may be well accepted to a "pantheon" of positive folk heroes of the Ukrainian people. Each of the Cossacks, portrayed in Ukrainian folk prose, occupies their own niche. In folklore, historical figures, like Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, possess earthly virtues of a capable Cossack leader: intelligent, militarily and politically clever, and resolute. In the case of Khmelnytsky-the father, there are also indications that some of his actions on the post of a Cossack leader were judged rather critically by the folk.

Slightly separated from the rest are "Marusia, a Cossack maiden," "Chieftain Iakym Bohush," "Cossack Vasiurynsky" and any of the individual or collective Cossack characters, who are praised for their strength, bravery and other positive human virtues. They may even be considered "knights" for their physical strength and their moral values. In general, they are portrayed as "quintessential" Cossack heroes: good Orthodox Christians, who are fighting against the enemies of their people by using their strength and their belief in the rightness of their cause.

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[193] "Zaporozhskiia gorodishcha" [Fortresses of Zaporozhian Cossacks], *Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, IX (Odessa: Aleksomati, 1875): 433-442 (on pages 440-441). See Appendix D (№ 20).

[194] See Appendix B (№ 15).

However, the topmost position among the positive Cossack figures is occupied by true "culture heroes," who emerge as an embodiment of the best natural and supernatural characteristics possible. Figures like Chieftain Ivan Sirko and Colonel Semen Palii are pious Christians (or even leaders, chosen by God) and the mighty knights. At the same time, they are powerful sorcerers, however, empowered by God. They cannot be harmed by any means; they may enchant people and armies; they can be invisible and change shape. They might serve the earthly rulers (like Palii served to Peter I),[195] but only because that had to be done for the protection of the Christian faith, rights and freedoms, and the very lives of the common people.

By and large, the portrayal of the Cossack characters in Ukrainian folk prose demonstrates a wide variety of types and motifs, which convey the folk view on the most prominent events and personae from the Cossack past.

b. Individuals, other than Cossacks

As with the Cossacks, the historical figures and personalities "other than the Cossacks" are presented by "folklorized," real historical figures, by fictitious characters, and by collective figures whose identity is almost impossible to establish. These figures include the rulers of various lands (a "Tsar," a "King," "Prince Amlin," Catherine II, a "Turk"), their minions, ministers and generals.

Non-Cossack individuals, including the rulers, are generally portrayed in folklore as "lesser" people as compared to the Cossacks— first of all, lesser in a moral and spiritual sense. This idea emerges very clearly in the texts, which deal with the Russian Tsar Peter I:

> **"Tsar Peter I as a "feeble and frightened ruler" in the second variant of a legend, collected by Panteleimon Kulish from an anonymous informant (C, № 13, excerpt 1)**: … "Hey," the son of Mazepa said, "Tsar! Come and face me in the battle!" Peter was frightened: he knew that no force he could muster would be enough to overwhelm young Mazepa. Young Mazepa was such a mighty knight that upon placing cannon on the palm of his hand, he could shoot from Bykiv and destroy the church at Oster…

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[195] However, in one text Palii, tricked by a Tsar, is portrayed as a coming avenger of poor people, wronged by the Tsar and nobility. See the variant, recorded by Porfyrii Martynovych from Cyril Pashkovsky in Appendix C (№ 19).

[Heavy] thoughts filled the Tsar Peter's head; he became saddened in his capital without seeing any way out...[196]

The motif of "cruelty" in the same legend (C, № 13, excerpt 2): ... Because of that cursed young Mazepa, the Tsar turned against Ukraine fervently. At once he dispatched the order to massacre all of the Ukrainian people...

And in Ukraine, people played sad melodies on trumpets and pipes, serving the services of deliverance in the churches, asking the Lord to avert Tsar's rage from the people of Ukraine... And Peter dispatched the second order: ordering to massacre all of the people... // ... and the services of deliverence were served in the churches asking Lord to have mercy upon the sinless souls.

At once, Peter dispatched the third order: he pardoned the entire people of Ukraine. Dances and music followed this announcement. All of the Christian people cheered upon hearing this announcement.[197]

The motif of "cruelty" in the third variant of a legend, collected by Panteleimon Kulish from an anonymous informant (C, № 14): ...The Tsar wanted to massacre all of the Hetmanate's people ...And Palii said: ..."Do not plunder the Hetmanate."

"Very well," the Tsar said, "I leave it alone because of you."[198]

The motif of the "Tsar breaking faith with his faithful subjects" by Cyril Pashkovsky (C, № 19): ...The Tsar broke his promise to Palii and did not appoint him Hetman— he made an oath and then broke it. Palii left the Tsar's service and sailed to the islands. He did not want to bow down to the Tsar. He is still alive. When the new moon is born, then Palii is getting younger, and when the moon is full, then Palii is getting older.

One day Palii will be fighting against the Tsar for the deliverance of the commoners.[199]

The depiction of powerful rulers as petty, ruthless, indecisive and feeble is popular in various cultures. Those motifs may not necessarily mock a particular monarch, though in one of the texts, collected by Kulish, his informant is overtly making fun of powerful and ruthless Peter I, showing the

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[196] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 121-127 (on page 122). See Appendix C (№ 13).

[197] Ibid., pp. 121-127 (on page 122).

[198] Ibid., 123-128 (on pages 127-128). See Appendix C (№ 14).

[199] *Lehendy ta perekazy*, p. 218. See Appendix C (№ 19).

Tsar as crawling on his knees before Palii and calling him "father," which in various cultures traditionally meant an acknowledgement of a superiority of "father" over "son." Also, the Tsar is shown as completely subdued by a personality of the powerful Hetman Mazepa, who was manipulating Peter at will. After Palii's victory over Hetman Mazepa, Tsar Peter I is actually begging Colonel Palii to deliver him from the Tatar raids as well. Finally, in this legend, the informant cites a dialogue between Palii and the Tsar in Russian, which, in the original text, adds significantly to the humorous aspect of this account, not only by a change in the language of presentation, but also by the invocation of diminutive forms of Colonel Palii's name and his perceived relationship with Tsar Peter (e.g., personal references, such as *Paleiushka*, *batiushka*, etc.):

> **Anonymous, collected by Volodymyr Menchyts (C, № 16)**: … Well, Mazepa enchanted the Tsar in Moscow, and so Mazepa succeeded in this enterprise that at the end the Tsar fell completely under his influence. That's how that Mazepa overpowered him.
> And so powerful Mazepa had become, that the Tsar could hardly fight against him [with any prospect of winning the war]. So, the Tsar began asking Mazepa: "give me," he was saying, "three days of rest"… And when those events were unfolding, there lived Semen Palii, a great warrior. And when the accursed Mazepa wanted to defeat the Tsar, he had Palii locked in prison and Palii spent thirty years there. And upon incarcerating Palii Mazepa became so bold that he was prepared to fight anybody. //
> …The Tsar was told about Palii…; The Tsar has heard about Palii… So, he dispatched people to bring Palii before him. Palii was brought from the prison…and Palii grew so decrepit that he stood there shaking…
> Well, the servants brought Palii [before the Tsar]… Palii, all covered with gray hair, fell on his knees before the Tsar and crawled towards him on his knees… The Tsar looked at what Palii was doing and kneeled himself and began crawling towards Palii. So, the Tsar spoke to Palii saying: "Rise, old man! Give us advice: we don't know how to overwhelm Mazepa"… So, Palii said: "Ask Mazepa for three more days of rest, perhaps we will recouperate in those three days…"
> …Three more days of truce with Mazepa were passing… everybody was attending to Palii. He suffered greatly, so the servants were bringing food, drinks and the like to Palii… Palii rode out and surrounded the Mazepa's army with the banners… And the cursed Mazepa was sitting and… drinking tea… Palii saw that and loosed an arrow, which hit the teacup from which Mazepa

> was drinking; Mazepa sent a lackey to find out who did that [mischief]…lackey returned and… reported: "Well, our troops are being surrounded with the banners of Palii's host." The cursed Mazepa jumped up, took …some poison from his sleeve, drank it and fell dead. Palii…then ordered to chase Mazepa's army with sticks and so it was done… After this [victory], the Tsar told Palii: "O, Palii, who is like father to me (narrator is mimicking the Russian language patterns, used in showing affection between two speakers— *R. S.*)! You have chased away the army of Mazepa and now chase away the Tatar horde! ..." Semen Palii replied to the Tsar: "Your Imperial Highness, for me to chase away the horde is like to drink a glass of good wine. The horde is nothing… [In the case of Mazepa's army] I dealt with a trained army, and horde is nothing like that!"[200]

In this legend, the feeble Russian Tsar and his domain are saved from the enemies by an unrivaled folk "culture hero" Colonel Palii, by his exemplary service to his sovereign (even though the sovereign appears as a lesser man indeed). This motif of "Cossack service to a sovereign" regardless of the ruler's personal unappealing characteristics represents a very significant motif in the "Cossack cycle" of Ukrainian folklore and provides a clue towards the place of honorable service in the cultural context of the Cossacks and their collective psyche.

In folklore, the "pact" between the rulers and the Cossacks serves as an embodiment of perfect relations, in which the latter play their part by guarding the realm of their monarch, while the latter was supposed to abide by his (her) obligations and grant Cossacks their liberties, freedoms and land. Traditionally, this is shown as the verbal promise of a ruler, to grant Cossacks the land and various rights "till the sun shines." At the same time, the realities of late Cossack history, when they were often deprived of their possessions and status on the pretext of not having proper documents to confirm their privileges, resulted in incorporation of the motif "papers, which prove the Cossack rights" to Ukrainian folk legend:

> **Osyp Shut' (A, № 7)**: …People tell that some Prince Amlin, or something, began to call them to join his army and told them: "If you assist me in overcoming the Turks— then I shall give you the steppes, ravines and woods and the entire land in the low flow of the Dnipro: you will live as free men over there." So, they

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[200] Dragomanov, pp. 201-204. See Appendix C (№ 16). In respect to the linguistic nuances, special attention should be paid in this case to the original text in Ukrainian and Russian.

> assembled everybody they could and overwhelmed the Turks on the battlefield. Upon this victory Amlin gave them the Dnipro and the steppe below the rapids, and they became known as Zaporozhians. They had forty regiments and a forty thousand-strong army, but Tsarina Kateryna chased them away and gave their lands to the Germans… When Amlin had been giving them the land he told the Cossacks as follows: "This land will be yours as long as the sun shines" and Tsarina Kateryna responded to the Cossacks when they brought up this argument: "Show me the documents, which proves that this land is yours." They tried to find one, but to no avail…[201]

Characteristically, the perceived rulers of the more distant past (like prince Amlin) are portrayed as just and worthy of their status— they asked the Cossacks for their service and abided by their monarchial "word," granting the Cossacks promised privileges. In one of the *chronicates*, which explores the motif of the "Khazarian" origin of the Cossacks, the motif of a just reward for rendered services contains the implicit approval of a Polish King's honorable behavior— the ruler is short of money to pay for the Cossacks' military service, so he pays them with land and his permission to build on it:

> **Anonymous, collected by Panteleimon Kulish (A, № 5)**: … There were three of them at the king's service. The king paid two of them for their services with money, and told to the third one: "So, I have paid to two of you with money, and you, if you want, go to Kaniv and establish a settlement over there." So, the third one went and established the Sich over there.[202]

It is noteworthy that the portrayal of a "Polish King" virtually in all stories analyzed in this dissertation, is rather positive. Besides the above-cited text, there is another *chronicate*, which relates the events of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's uprising against Polish dominance. In this story, "a King" is portrayed as a strict, but forgiving father, who is inclined to pardon his "prodigal children"— the subjects of his power:

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[201] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, pp. 89-90. See Appendix A (№ 7). This motif, which emphasizes the importance for the Cossacks of having papers, which would prove their lawful possession of their lands, is also mentioned in the *chronicate*, told by Dmytro Bykovsky and recorded by Iakiv Novytsky (see Appendix A (№ 8). Most certainly, this motif emerged due to the increasing number of conflicts over the boundaries of the Cossack domain between the Cossacks and the Russian government during the 18th century.

[202] Kulish, vol. 1, p. 150. See Appendix A (№ 5).

> **Anonymous, collected by Kulish (C, № 1)**: ...Khmelnytsky in the meantime notices that he did many evil things and he went to ask for a pardon from the king. And the Polish king, while waiting for Khmelnytsky to come, ordered eleven executioners to be dressed in royal garments and joined them // in the row of twelve. Were Khmelnytsky to approach one of the executioners first, then they would execute [Khmelnytsky] by beheading him. But Khmelnytsky did not approach the executioners and went directly to the King. He crawled towards the King and fell before him. So, the king raised Khmelnytsky's head and said: "A rebel, you! You caused so many deaths [with your uprising!]"[203]

At the same time, the sovereigns, who ruled the Russian Empire during the final decades of the Cossack era, are shown as unjust and ungrateful. Certainly, in this respect, most of the attention in folklore is paid to the personality and politics of Catherine II, under whose rule both the Cossack state (the Hetmanate) and the Cossack Host of Lower Dnipro (Zaporozhian Host) ceased to exist and serfdom was introduced.[204]

Besides conveying the negative popular opinion about the Tsarina's politics in Ukraine, Ukrainian folk prose also contains evidence that certain attempts to save some of Catherine II's reputation have been made. However, it appears that such attempts were made in reverence to her office rather than her personality. For instance, some of the Tsarina's wrongdoings towards the Cossacks are explained by the fact that she believed her advisers and ministers, who gave her "bad" advice instead of serving their sovereign in a true fashion. Another explanation was that Tsarina received complaints about the Cossacks from the latter's enemies and believed them:

> **Dmytro Bykovsky (A, № 1):** ...When the enemies of the Cossacks began to pester the Tsarina, saying that the Zaporozhians were supposedly involved in causing damage, she assembled her troops and marched against the Cossacks...[205]
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> **"Old man Andrii" (A, № 2)**: ...
> —And how was Zaporozhia sacked and when did this happen?
> —And that happened during the reign of Kateryna— there used to be Tsarina by that name. You see the enemies began to complain

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[203] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 114-115. See Appendix C (№ 1).

[204] See Appendix A (№ 1, №2, etc.). For "monarchial ingratitude and injustice," see the motif "Injustice, deadliest of monarch's sins" (P 12.2) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, p. 141.

[205] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, pp. 87-88. See Appendix A (№ 1).

> to the Tsarina that the Zaporozhians supposedly committed various offenses— she assembled the army and sent it against them.
> —The Zaporozhians came to Tsarina and nothing could be done with them, and that situation lasted until Prince Potemkin began to populate the villages with Germans, then the Cossacks submitted themselves under the Turkish protectorate or went to the Kuban [region].[206]

While depicting the encounters between the Cossacks and Catherine II, informants often resort to humor and even sarcasm in portraying Tsarina's relations with her subjects: the latter chase lice, sleep, do not respond, when asked a question, and do other undignified things in Her Majesty's presence; even the respectful reference to the Tsarina as "mother," bears strong elements of sarcasm, because in folklore the Cossacks seem to use it in order to stress the an "non-motherly" attitude of Catherine II to her "children"— the Cossacks:

> **Pavlo Tukalevsky (C, № 21)**: Once upon a time, the ministers persuaded Catherine [II], the Tsarina: "How come we pay taxes and supply recruits and the Zaporozhians are excluded?" They must be equal to our other subjects… The Tsarina and ministers decided to call on six chief Cossacks to discuss this issue with them in the capital. So, the ministers sent a message by envoy saying: "Six people must arrive on such a date," and did not explain the reason for this. But the Zaporozhians already knew the reason.
> The Chieftain of the Zaporozhians said: "Lads! What do we do now? You all know well, why Tsarina is calling us." And the spies had already informed the Zaporozhians [about the Tsarina's decision to deprive them of their rights and privileges].
> —"Well, our lord the Chieftain. They are planning on making fun of us, then we shall return their favor"… So, they set off. //
> The Cossacks had arrived in Petersburg. And they almost made it to the Tsarina's court… In an hour, the Tsarina was passed a report that "some representatives of some unknown people have arrived." Foreigners or something like that, they thought. Tsarina Catherine ordered one Minister: "Go and find out, what sort of people they are and what their business is." The Zaporozhians saw him coming… The Minister entered the premises and said: "May

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[206] *Iz narodnykh predanii o zaporozhtsakh*, pp. 350-353 (on page 353). See Appendix A (№ 2).

the Lord grant you good health! What people are you?" The Cossacks stood without a response, and one of them checked the inside of his garments: "O, wait, darned lice; can you believe it, the lice! We have just gotten here and already got infested with lice!" "What people are you?" And later the minister saw that there was no answer, went to Tsarina and said: "those people are madmen…"

In an hour, the Tsarina dispatched the Chief Minister… That Minister…asked: "what people are you? Where are you from?" At once, one of the Cossacks approached the minister and said holding his pants: "Please, tell me where I can urinate, but hurry up for I'm barely holding it." The Minister was confused, spat on the floor and went off…//

On the second day, the Chieftain said: "now, lads, wash you and get dressed." He sent a Cossack to ask what time the Cossacks are being expected in the palace? The Tsarina asked him: "But when did they come?" And that Cossack did not reply… So, Tsarina assembled the ministers… Everybody came… Tsarina then told them: "Zaporozhians have arrived. Let us show them our justice"… Then they sent a page to call in the Cossacks.

…The Cossacks entered the hall and bowed. The Chieftain asked: "Your Imperial Highness, how can we be of any service to you?" The Tsarina replied: "Wait and I shall tell you later."

She ordered to serve the dinner… The time came to serve fish. Ministers were served a bigger fish, and the Zaporozhians a smaller one. "Now is the time!" The Chieftain winked at his lads.

One Cossack broke into tears at once… The Tsarina asked him: "What is wrong?" …And the Cossacks cried "Ah-ah-ah, our mother Tsarina, nobody did me wrong, but I have just remembered my father. He drowned. But his body was never found. We were looking for his body with nets, but each time we fished out a little fish. And we asked that little fish: "Did you not see our father down there?" The little fish replied: "You better ask the bigger fish, because we don't know," but we have not caught any big fish." "O, I am sorry, lads!" the Tsarina said, "Give them bigger fish"… The dinner was over. Everybody rose and thanked the Tsarina for her treat, and the Cossacks rose and went outside into the corridor without saying anything… // so the ministers gossiped about them saying: "What kind of pigs are they? They could not even thank [Her Majesty] for the dinner."

At that moment, the Cossacks returned wearing their finest clothes, clad in gold and silver. They entered the hall and the Chieftain said: "Our mother, allow us to thank you for your dinner"… A Cossack stepped forward and thanked [the Tsarina]

> in fine Latin, — the ministers were all ears... The second one stepped forward and spoke out in Greek. The third one stepped forward and spoke in German...the fourth one...in Italian. The fifth one in French... The sixth one was the Chieftain himself, and he spoke in Russian! ...He finished. "Now, our mother, tell us, how can we be of any service to you?" The Tsarina was very pleased with their "thank yous"... The ministers tried to gesture to her that the previous plan should be revealed. She said to the Zaporozhians: "I called you here, merely to see you." The Cossacks replied: "Thank you, our mother, that you missed us"...and went back to their lands.[207]

Among the "helpers" of the Tsarina in her attempts to destroy the Cossack order emerge not only the members of her court (e.g., Potemkin) and administration (ministers), but some Ukrainian turncoats as well. For instance, in one of the accounts, Oleksii Rozumovsky[208] is portrayed as an ungrateful orphan, who was brought up by the people, and eventually got promoted because of his voice and his looks alone. After being promoted, Rozumovsky is shown as an instigator of enforcing a military draft throughout Ukraine. At the same time, even though this crime of his is terrible, no less terrible is his betrayal of good people, who replaced his parents.[209] Worse still is the abandonment of Rozumovsky's mother by her son. For this sin, the informant places this anti-hero into inferno, from which even the generous donations of Oleksii for the construction and decoration of Christian churches, could not save him:

> **Anonymous, collected by I. Kosach (C, № 20):**
> ...
> — "Then how did happen, that Ukrainians are being drafted? Aren't they drafting them now?"
> — "Well, this was the doing of Peter's wife! She sat on the throne; and Rozumovsky crept toward her ...That was him, the son of a bitch, who initiated the draft among the Ukrainians! And it would not be so bad, if that Rozumovsky were a man of merit, and not a lazy person. One Cossack...told me the following about Rozumovsky: in the village of Lemishi // lived a woman,

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[207] Martynovych, pp. 187-190. See Appendix C (№ 21).

[208] Though the next text does not indicate directly, whether the anti-hero is the last Hetman of Ukrainian Cossack state, Cyril Rozumovsky, or his brother— a lover of the Catherine's predecessor Tsarina Elizabeth, the description of this person's position in the court indicates him as Oleksii.

[209] Similar attitudes are present in one of the legends, collected by Kulish, in which the relations between the godfather (Peter I) and the godson (young Mazepa) are mentioned.

> and…she was promiscuous, was a harlot, and she gave birth to a child, a son, and that boy grew up like a bastard [he was]. That boy grew up without a father…only due to the people's kindness… a priest from Lemishi taught him to sing in the choir… So, the saying goes, either there was a contest for the best singer or something else, but that boy, Rozumovsky, was taken to Petersburg… And the Tsarina…grew fond of him. So she had him promoted to high nobility! And when she had him promoted, then Rozumovsky began to do mischief: ordered to go forward with the draft [in Ukraine]…doing various wrongdoings towards the people, who brought him up. He did not even remember his mother. And even though he built churches to save his soul…he perished like the filthy dog he was! You see, the curse by Polubotok had its power after all: Rozumovsky may well be in hell now!"[210]

While the sovereigns, members of their court and administration might have played a significant role in the actual history of the Ukrainian Cossacks, their folkloric representations occupy a more modest place than both the historical analogues and "folklorized" Cossacks. The reason for this lies with the certain Cossack-centricity of those texts, which make Cossacks the main heroes of any story, using other personae as a mere tool of unveiling certain Cossack views, characteristics and deeds. Thus, even though the majority of the analyzed texts mention contacts between the Cossacks and various rulers, the latter's main role was to affirm the very reason of the Cossacks' historical existence— to serve the ruler for land grants and various privileges. This concept of "service," as well as an idea that the ruler must honor their promises of reward to the Cossacks, formed an essential part of the Cossacks' collective psyche and the ideology of the Cossack estate.

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[210] Dragomanov, pp. 206-208 (on pages 207-208). See Appendix C (№ 20).

4.4 Cossacks and their treasures

This section of Chapter 4 is dedicated to Cossack treasures. Appendix D contains 21 "treasure" texts, the majority of which come from the heartlands of the former Cossack Host of Zaporizhzhia. A number of other texts, featured in this dissertation, also contain the motifs, which deal with material treasures as well as other things, treasured by the Cossacks.

The topic of Cossack treasures in Ukrainian folklore is much more complex than it might appear at first sight. In fact, there are several related types and motifs, which explore the topic of "Cossack treasure": the topic of a "treasure" per se, and the topics of the "hidden" (buried) and "abandoned treasures." Also, the topic "Cossacks and their treasures" is not limited to the popular motif of the Cossacks hiding their valuables (gold, silver and so forth) in the ground; despite the popularity of the above-mentioned motif, the notion of the "Cossack treasure" goes far beyond the identification of "a treasure" in monetary a equivalent and is focused upon various advantages of Cossack status, which were "a treasure" in their own right.

Early in this chapter, I have already pointed out that the Cossack lifestyle made them value their status, their obligations before a certain ruler-patron and their privileges, issued to the Cossacks by the ruler for their military service. So, the question is whether or not the stories about the "real" material treasures and "treasures of other kind" have something in common, or, maybe, they even go together, complementing one another in the texts, which portray Cossack life in a number of different ways? In this section of Chapter 4, it shall be proven that the topic of "treasures as valuables" is intertwined with the topic of "treasure of other kind" (i.e., freedom, liberties and privileges) to the point that they are portrayed through the same motifs and supplement one another, forming a complex picture of the value system of the Cossack society. To verify this hypothesis, I offer an analysis of the types and motifs, which discuss "Cossack treasures."

I would like to begin this discussion with reference to "treasure stories," collected in a neighboring Slavic culture— Russia. In her study on the issue of the genesis of a structure in Russian historical folk prose, Neonila Krinichnaia discerns four major structural-chronological types of stories about the treasures, found in Russian folklore. Thus, she distinquishes the stories about the "enchanted treasures" (type 1), calling them the earliest forms among the "treasure tales"; the stories, spawned by the social-utopian illusion of the peasants, for whom an acquisition of hidden treasures represented a possible way towards economic recovery (type 2); the stories about "treasures," which essentially represent the customary burial donations to the deceased for their travel in the afterlife (type 3), and the stories about the "treasures in a direct meaning of this word."[211]

Basing her conclusion on the results of her analysis of a collection of northern Russian tales about the treasures, Krinichnaia discerns a number of features, characteristic to the treasures in Russian folklore: their relation to ancient inhabitants of a certain land, their magical character (for earlier stories) and an emphasis upon the treasure's monetary value (for the later stories).[212] In due course, I plan to provide a comparison between the types and motifs, identified for the Russian "treasure tales" by N. Krinichnaia and V. Sokolova, and the types and motifs, found in the stories about "Cossack treasures."

It appears that with the passage of time, the views of Russian folklore on the origin of the "hidden treasures" (*klady*) were becoming more and more utilitarian, which for one part meant the growing stress upon the monetary value of the treasure and a virtual disappearance of any references to its magical or any other characteristics. But was this equally the case in Ukrainian folklore and in the prose about "Cossack treasure," in particular?

The first type, identified by the Russian folklorists, deals with the "enchanted treasures":

> Men were working in the field. Suddenly, they saw a horned statue— and that was treasure. They were standing and gazing, but did not dare to come closer. That statue fell apart while they were gazing at it, and turned into a pile of rubble…

And another account:

> There is a treasure: the pot turns around and noone can grab it… [Once people] were digging and getting closer to that pot. As soon as they were ready to grab [this pot] — it fell down. People dug some more— and it fell even farther down…[213]

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[211] Neonila Krinichnaia, *Russkaia narodnaia istoricheskaia proza: voprosy genezisa i struktury* [Russian historical folk prose: issues of its genesis and structure] (Leningrad: Nauka, 1987), p. 109.

[212] Ibid., pp. 116-117. Also, see Nikolai Aristov, "Predaniia o kladakh" [Tales about the hidden treasures], *Zapiski russkago geograficheskago obshchestva po otdeleniiu russkoi etnografii*, vol. 1 (St. - Petersburg, 1867), pp. 709-739; and Vera Sokolova, *Russkie istoricheskie predaniia* [Russian historical folk tales] (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), pp. 188-209.

[213] Neonila Krinichnaia, *Legendy, predaniia, byval'shchyny* [Legends, memorates, stories from the past] (Moscow: Sovremennik, 1989), pp. 243-244.

Corpus of legends, analyzed in this dissertation, also contain texts about the "enchanted treasure":[214]

> **Stephan Shtepa (D, № 8)**: Below the island of Khortytsia, over the old flow of the Dnipro, there is a grove called Lazni, and there, above the cliff is a treasure. The telltale is as follows: [above the treasure] there lies a stone with an inscription on it: "It is [and will be], — and the one who takes it will be cursed." Some thirty years ago those words could have still been read, but now the stone is covered with moss. People say that this treasure is enchanted.[215]

Among the most common "enchanted treasures" motifs is the one, which portrays "treasure" through anthropomorphic and zoomorphic features. Krinichnaia in one of her works recites a legend about two friends, who went looking for treasure. Their third friend refused to go and slept at home. It was raining and two friends got soaked and very angry at their [missing] friend. On their way home, "they found a dead dog. They decided to play a prank on their friend, brought the dog's corpse closer to his window and threw in in. That dog appeared to be treasure and turned into gold…"[216] Legends about Cossacks include similar motifs:

> **Stephan Vlasenko (D, № 6)**: At the head of the island of Khortytsia, close to [the colony of] Kichkas, there is a big mound, fully covered with stones. Some thirty years ago, treasures used to be revealed, often during starless nights: a Cossack, armed with a saber, rides on the mound and glows as bright as fire. The Cossack is made of gold and his horse is of silver. As the saying goes those, are golden and silver coins. That money is either taken or is revealed to a selected few.[217]
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> **Vasyl Panasenko-Honcharenko (D, № 19)**: … "Do you know a man called Liashenko by the way?" "What Liashenko?" —I asked

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[214] Antin Onyshchuk, "Materialy do hutsul's'koi demonolohii" [Materials, concerning demonological beliefs of the Hutsuls], *Materialy do ukrains'koi etnol'ohii* XI (L'viv: NTSh, 1909): 96-98; Volodymyr Hnatiuk, "Narodni opovidannia pro opryshkiv" [Folk stories about the brigands], *Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk* XXVI (L'viv: NTSh, 1910): 295-299.

[215] Iakov Novitskii, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro, its nature, history, antiquities] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 47. See Appendix D (№ 8).

[216] *Legendy, predaniia, byval'shchyny*, p. 243.

[217] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, p. 46. See Appendix D (№ 6).

> him, —Afanasii?" "No, his father." "Well, how could I possibly know him: when the son is that old, then what is to be said of his father…?" "And I am going to tell you how [that father of Afanasii] Liashenko got his riches. He came, broke from the Sich, but later on, became the most notable merchant in the town of Oleksandrivsk… One day, he went fishing to the Old Dnipro and was late. When darkness fell, he crossed the river to the island of Khortytsia by boat and kept walking through the steppe. He was going and going along that path when suddenly he spotted something, which resembled a white tree trunk, which was moving. He came closer and said: "Where the devil did this come from?" As soon as he spoke, a little goat jumped up on him… Then it pressed on old Liashenko's back with its legs and on his back with its tail… Liashenko was at a loss, like turning into a steed— he started off running. He began crossing the road, which stretched across the island, but the goat grabbed his ears as if they were a harness, pulled and directed him along that road. Liashenko ran for some eight kilometers up to the "Hanging head," where an old oaktree used to be. When he reached that spot, the roosters in the Kichkas crowed the third time, and that goat clinked and turned into money. Liashenko began to pick it up… He packed a full sack, which he had taken to catch fish, and hid it in the bushes. He was scared, but mostly he was afraid that someone might steal it. He spent the entire day in the bushes, and in the evening a fisherman ferried him to the Sahaidachnyi ravine, and Liashenko took the money home. Since then, he quit fishing and began to trade in salt, then opened a shop and a hostel, and so he lived on… Before his departure he passed his treasure to his son for his use… So, — the old man said, — luck is as fever indeed — it can strike anybody."[218]

The resemblance of the anthropomorphic figure of a hidden treasure to a Cossack probably indicates not only the origin of this treasure, but also emphasizes supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks. At the same time, the depiction of treasure as an animal ("white goat," "pig," etc.) is similar to the motifs in other Slavic, particularly, in Russian folklore.[219] However, in the account recorded from Panasenko-Honcharenko, the nature of that treasure is given as unclean through the association of a "goat" with a form, reportedly assumed by devil, and "the devil as goat" assuming the form of money. Most certainly this motif had emerged as the result of influence of the Christianity upon the older layers of beliefs, expressed in the most ancient texts about the treasures.[220]

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[218] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, p. 51. See Appendix D (№ 19).

[219] Volodymyr Dashkevych, "Do pytannia pro zalozhnykh tvaryn v uiavlenniakh ukrains'koho narodu" [Towards the issue of guardian animals in the beliefs of Ukrainian people], *Ukraintsi: narodni viruvannia povir'ia, demonolohiia* (Kyiv: Lybid', 1991), p. 530; *Legendy, predaniia, byval'shchyny*, pp. 241-242.

According to Sokolova and Krinichnaia, Russian folklore offers ample evidence that according to folk beliefs, each treasure has its own guardian (*obereg*). In fact, a "guardian" is customarily portrayed as a spirit (of an animal, a bird or a human), sacrificed while the treasure was laid into the ground:

> ...Once I was walking near the water spring. And it appeared to me that there was a chest standing on a nearboring hill, right above that spring. Its walls were amplified with iron and [that chest] was surrounded by bones, the big ones... I got scared, but stayed there... Suddenly, I saw a pig showing its teeth to me, and water was coming out of its mouth. I was petrified...and ran home...[221]

The same beliefs can be found among the Ukrainian folk, as well. However, in the "treasure tales," found in the legends about the Cossacks, the guardian spirits are almost exclusively anthropomorphic:

> **Stephan Shtepa (D, № 11)**: On the island of Khortytsia, straight across the island of Dubovyi (Oak), which is near the bank of Voznesenka [village], there are two small ravines; between those ravines the Zaporozhian Cossacks hid the regimental treasures of their Host— twelve barrels with treasures. In that hole also sits the immured Cossack treasurer, who is guarding those treasures.[222]
>
> **G. E. Sorokin (D, № 21)**: ...according to the local residents in one of those fortresses, which had been built by the *haidamaky* in the days of old, the *haidamaky* had a safe haven and preserved

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[220] See the motifs "Transformation: devil to animal" (D 102), "Devil in form of a goat" (G 303.3.3.1.6) and "Devil's money" (G 303.21) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 2, 14; vol. 3, pp. 317-318, 342; vol. 6, pp. 207-208. Similar motifs exist in Lithuanian (Balys) and Russian (Afanas'ev) folklore. Also, see a similar story, in which the devil is portrayed as a goat, which vandalizes the Holy Bible, brought by a man to an enchanted place in Appendix D (№ 15).

[221] *Legendy, predaniia, byval'shchyny*, pp. 241-242. Also see Sokolova, p. 202; *Russkaia narodnaia istoricheskaia proza*, p. 114. For Ukrainian beliefs on "guardian spirits" see Volodymyr Dashkevych, "Do pytannia pro zalozhnykh tvaryn u uiavlenniakh ukrains'koho narodu," pp. 527-539.

[222] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, p. 48. See Appendix D (№ 11).

> their booty; people also say that inside that fortress there is a crypt, in which the money is hidden as well as rich garments and the like, and that this treasure is being guarded by a fighter in full armor.[223]

As for other stories about the "Cossack treasure," they also invoke a rather rare motif of the Cossacks, who are guarding hidden treasures in the burial mound. They are destined to guard those treasures for a number of years and, if an occasion presents itself to pass their duty to an unaware passerby, leaving them committed to the burial mound for generations to come:

> **"Old man" Buhaida (D, № 16)**: There are many treasures hidden in the cliffs, ravines, under the oak-trees, and the most of them on the "Hanging Head" and in the burial mounds; and those treasures will be lying there as long as the sun shines. People say that those treasures are being guarded by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, immured in the pits, who are allowed to get out only once in forty years. And when such a guardian meets a passer-by, then he will invite the latter to the pit, and if a passer-by follows, — then the Zaporozhian Cossack will lock the iron gates behind the passer-by and that will be it… A long time ago it happened— a Zaporozhian Cossack, armed with saber, left his crypt and began wandering throughout the island. He was wandering for a long time and met a man. That man got scared // and was trying to escape the approaching Zaporozhian. The Cossack caught up with that man and said: Do not worry, o man, I see that you are poor, and I can help you with money: follow me to the burial mound. That man was frightened, but he was also tempted to receive money. Finally, he went without any lengthy thoughts. The Zaporozhian opened the pit and said: do you see that barrel with the golden coins— go and grab as much as you need. That man went for the money and the Cossack closed the doors, and covered the entrance with earth. So he did and went on wandering the earth. People are saying that people like that Cossack never succumb to death.[224]

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[223] Vladimir Iastrebov, "Opyt topograficheskogo obozreniia Khersonskoi gubernii" [Topographical description of Kherson guberniia], *Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, XVII (Odessa: Ekonomicheskaia tipografiia, 1894): 63-176 (on page 106). See Appendix D (№ 21).

[224] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, pp. 49-50. See Appendix D (№ 16). Regarding the motif "Culture hero still lives" (A 570) see the *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, vol. 1, p. 124.

> **Stephan Shtepa (D, № 17)**: Some thirty years ago, I met an elderly man and had a chat about the hidden treasures with him. According to him, some people found this money, but not everybody dared to take it, and he went on telling the story. On the Holy Day of Transfiguration, an old man was fishing on the river Dnipro. The night was lit with moonlight. He rowed towards the bank [of Khortytsia], drew the nets from the water, and began napping. Suddenly, he heard a rustling in the reeds, and soon afterwards a man came out of those reeds, his head shaved, with long moustache and dressed in Cossack-style clothes. That stranger began looking at the old man. And that old man felt a shiver pass down his neck. The old fisherman lost his patience and asked: What sort of man are you and what do you want from me? —I am a Zaporozhian Cossack and I have been guarding the treasures for a hundred years and now the time of my duty is done and you may go and take that treasure. The old man replied: and how do you know me, because I have never met you before in my life. The Cossack said that we, the Cossacks, had reached an agreement that in a hundred years, I would pass the money to the first person, whom I would meet: follow me. You know what, man, — the old man replied, — go to where you have come from, and may the Lord guide you, — I don't need your money. The Cossack turned around and went up the hill. The old man experienced an even a more dreadful fright; he adorned himself with the sign of the Holy Cross thrice, and rowed towards the bank near the village of Voznesenka. And in a week, that old man heard a rumor that a man from Rozumovka had been fishing on the Old Dnipro and vanished that very night [when the old fisherman met with the Cossack]. That man from Rozumovka, who had vanished, had been known for his love of money, so he must have listened to that Zaporozhian Cossack and now will be sitting in that crypt till his term is over.[225]

Those stories about the "hidden treasure," which portray the Cossacks through the motif "culture hero still lives," can be assigned to a separate folklore type.[226]

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[225] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, p. 50. See Appendix D (№ 17). Also see the motifs "Captivity in the mound" (R 45) and "Treasure pointed out by supernatural creature" (N 538) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, pp. 113, 273.

[226] In the Ukrainian variants, a Cossack-guardian is not buried in the mound, but rather is confined in it and carries on his duty, guarding the hidden treasures for a number of years (40 years, 100 years, etc.). This appears as quite different from, for instance, the Russian "treasure tales," where the treasure is left in the mound with a dead body of an animal or a human. Also, see Volodymyr Dashkevych, *Pro zalozhnykh tvaryn*, pp. 534-536.

Stories, "spawned by the social-utopian illusion of the peasants, for whom an acquisition of hidden treasures represented a possible way towards the economic recovery," represent the *second type*. Krinichnaia identifies those texts as the most ancient ones.[227] This type is comprised of a number of specific motifs. The first one can be described as "most of the treasures were hidden by the Cossacks" and closely resemble the "Cossacks as affluent people" motif:

> **Kravets (D, № 1)**: The treasures were mostly hidden by the Zaporozhian Cossacks: when those Cossacks were chased away from these lands — they anticipated their return — so those Cossacks buried the treasures and put spells onto them. Well, they did not exactly put the spells, but rather swore before the Cossack brethren than no one, alone, was to take them, and only in so many years could a sworn Cossack be permitted to reveal the secret about the treasure to a stranger. People are saying that once upon a time, a Cossack was passing through our village saying that where today's *Nekhvoroshcha* is located (probably a village, located near the old Cossack monastery— *R. S.*), those Cossacks had filled a well full with gold.[228]

> **Anonymous, collected by Iakiv Novytsky (D, № 2, excerpt 1)**: There has been lots of talking among the people that there is money hidden on the island of "Strilchyi." It is said that the Zaporozhian Cossacks dug a pit on that island and filled it with their treasure: gold and silver thalers // iron [slabs?], weapons and some other items; then had it covered with the sand; then they took a lad of some 12 years of age, whom those Cossacks had kidnapped in Ukraine, put him at that very place, where the treasures were hidden, and began to beat him with the tree branches. They beat him hard and then asked: "Do you know, why we are beating you?" —"No, I do not," was the lad's reply and the poor boy started crying. Zaporozhians gave him another beating. They quit beating him and asked that lad again: do you know why we are beating you? — "No, my most benevolent loving masters, I swear to God that I do not know why," that lad replied. The Cossacks gave him yet another beating. That poor lad was screaming so hard that he lost his voice. "Enough is enough," Zaporozhians said, and asked him again: "Tell us, you son of a bitch, why are we beating you? Tell us or we shall beat you

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[227] *Russkaia narodnaia istoricheskaia proza*, p. 109.

[226] Dragomanov, p. 78. See Appendix D (№ 1).

> again!" —"I know why you are beating me, that lad finally replied: You are beating me so that I would remember where you hid the treasures." —"All right then," Zaporozhians said, "take a look around, and go with the Lord and maybe you will find some good people [to take care of you]." That lad ran away and began asking for the road to Ukraine among the people. We are not sure how long he was wandering, but he found his way to his father's place. People say that this story happened soon after the Sich had been demolished. Dozens of years later, an old man was taking rafts from the Kyiv guberniia down the river Dnipro; he stopped at our village, went to Strilcha and began looking for the treasures; he was looking and looking and found nothing, because that place was covered with stones; later on he came to the village and began asking: "Has anyone dug up any money?" No one in our village had any knowledge about the money. Afterwards, the old man began telling the entire story, because he was that very lad, whom the Zaporozhians had been beating. Also, that old man told us about the signs, which were to help find that treasure. On the other bank of the Dnipro, he said, directly opposite that island of "Strilchyi," used to grow a very thick and old oaktree; it had a thick branch, which pointed at the very place, where the treasures had been hidden on that island. Some old people still remember where that oaktree used to be, but, frankly speaking, I have no recollection of it; you see (he is pointing at that place with his finger) a peartree grew on that very spot.[229]

Another motif utilized in the stories, which belong to type two, is the motif of the "location of hidden treasure." According to Krinichnaia, in Russian folklore, the customary place for hiding a treasure is in (under) an oak-tree, a pine or a birch tree, remarkable for its age, thickness of trunk or any other feature (e.g., "Not far from Cherdakly, Samara region, there is an oak-tree. Underneath a treasure is buried..."[230] Sometimes, "the tree" is shown not as the treasure's hiding place, but as a telltale. In the mentioned text collected by Novytsky, as well as in some other variants,[231] it is an old oaktree:

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[229] Dragomanov, pp. 229-230. See Appendix D (№ 2).

[230] *Legendy, predaniia, byval'shchyny*, pp. 242-243.

[231] For instance, in yet another variant collected by Iakiv Novytsky, the following description of a hiding place is given: "On [the island of] Khortytsia, near the ravine of Shantseva, there is a Red Oak, which is tall and has many branches; it is by far the oldest and the thickest [oak tree around]... [People] are saying that there are Zaporozhian [Cossacks'] treasures hidden beneath this oak tree." See Appendix D (№ 12).

> **Anonymous, collected by Novytsky (D, № 2, excerpt 2)**: ... Also, that old man told us about the signs, which were to help find that treasure. On the other bank of the Dnipro, he said, directly opposite that island of "Strilchyi," used to grow a very thick and old oaktree; it had a thick branch, which pointed at the very place, where the treasures had been hidden on that island. Some old people still remember where that oaktree used to be, but, frankly speaking, I have no recollection of it; you see (he is pointing at that place with his finger) a peartree grew on that very spot.[232]

Another popular motif, used in the "treasure tales" of this type is "a treasure is hidden under the door of a stone (boulder), pillar, etc. with the inscription "Dig here":[233]

> **Anonymous, collected by Novytsky (D, № 3)**: ...When the brigands were fed, they rose and praised the Lord, expressing gratitude to the shepherds and then told them: you lads, start digging here for the money; here, on the eastern edge of the burial mound, much money was hidden: one pit is full of gold, and the other one is full of pieces of disassembled golden jewelry. The telltales are as follows: there are four big rocks above the doors, which cover a pit filled with coins; and there is no sign above the pit with the pieces of broken jewelry...[234]

Type 3, or the stories about the "treasures," which represent the burial donations to the deceased, has no variants in "Cossack treasure" stories. In my opinion, there are three reasons, why this type cannot be discerned among the stories about Cossacks and their treasures. First of all, it is likely that such stories indeed existed, but were missed by folklore collectors. However, my second point contradicts, at least partially, my previous point: the notion of afterlife, shared by Christians, did not require placing materials, such as valuables, weapons and tools, into the grave. Though Cossacks could have been, — and some, indeed, were — buried with some valuables (e.g., crosses, rings, weapons), both performers and their audience might have not taken this into account. My third, and final, point is that stories about burial donations could have merged with the stories about

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[232] Dragomanov, p. 230. See Appendix D (№ 2).

[233] See the motif N 535 in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, p. 115. Also see *Russkaia narodnaia istoricheskaia proza*, pp. 111-112.

[234] Dragomanov, pp. 228-229 (on page 229). See Appendix D (№ 3).

Cossacks as the guardians of hidden treasures, and became completely assimilated. However, more studies on this account must be conducted.

As for the type, in which the treasure is portrayed as "real" (*Type 4)*, among the texts, analyzed in this dissertation, there is only one *memorate*, — in fact, a fragment — which is preceded by a legend about Cossack treasures, and contains the account by a person, who actually found some money:

> **Iakiv Rudenky (D, № 18)**: The treasures were hidden by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Poles and Turks; here people found the money of various rulers. The Zaporozhians had the following custom. When they dug a pit and hid money in there, they would ask: and who will be guarding it? As soon as a volunteer came up — other Cossacks would throw him in the pit and cover the entrance. And that Cossack would spend 40 years without food or drink until his term was over. It would be great if he found somebody to pass his duty on to, and if not, then he would go back for another forty years in that crypt. There was a time when it was frightening to spend a night on the island of Khortytsia: a Zaporozhian Cossack used to come to people and wake them up saying: "Follow me and I shall give you money. This money is destined for you." Those who accepted [that offer] would go— and stay immured for forty years and the Zaporozhian would wander the land… However, there were few // people, who were eager for money. Some money was hidden by the Zaporozhians without any spells, so it was not frightening to take it; those people who found that money— became rich landowners… In the village of Voznesenka, there were people, who became rich rather unexpectedly… Most of the money was found in the Sahaidachnyi ravine and on the island of Khortytsia, but among our thalers were the coins from Poland and Turkey, and people were getting rid of those at the pubs. Long ago, I found such coins, but told nobody about them.[235]

The above-cited text is comprised of two different types. The first one deals with the "Cossacks as affluent people," "enchanted treasures" and the "culture hero still lives" motifs. It might have been comprised as a separate story, *fabulate*, which was eventually combined with a *memorate* by Rudenky about him finding treasure (the second type).

Overall, among the texts dedicated to "Cossack treasures," one can easily discern three of four types, identified in the works by Krinichnaia and her colleagues.[236] Also, the stories about Cossack treasures, in which the motif "culture hero still lives," is employed, represent a rather original path in development of the Cossack theme in Ukrainian folk prose.

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[235] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, pp. 50-51 (on page 51). See Appendix D (№ 18).

At this point, I shall introduce the hypothesis that the composers of the stories about "Cossack treasures" seemed to reach a different level of conceptualization regarding "treasure." What most likely occurred in the folk prose about the Cossacks was the unification of the idea of Cossack "material treasure" with the idea of Cossack "treasure of another kind." These stories constitute a separate type, which I define as "lifestyle as a treasure."

As argued in other sections of this chapter, the Cossacks and their descendants viewed gold, silver, land, weapons, horses, personal freedom and other liberties together, as synonyms of their achievements and attributes of their lifestyle. However, the affirmation of this idea into a complex system of the Cossack values (or treasured things) would require another generation or two, but the Cossack lore of 19th-century Ukraine was already being increasingly overshadowed by the new layers of folklore, which must have prevented the further development of this concept. Despite this tendency, the idea of unity between material and "other" (e.g., spiritual) treasures manifests itself in a number of occasions. In order to reconstruct this hypothetical path taken by the people to present a comprehensive view of Cossack treasures, references to some of the texts, discussed in this dissertation, must be made.

I view the conceptualization of a "treasure" as something more than just precious metals, but as the first step towards a new, broader definition of "treasure" in folklore about the Cossacks. The following account comes from Stephan Shtepa:

> **Stephan Shtepa (D, № 10)**: Below the Vshyva (Lice-infested— *R. S.*) cliff, where the German windmill is now standing, there is the Verbova (Pussy-willow— *R. S.*) ravine, which grows also on that cliff and there is an apex on that cliff, and in the middle of that apex, people are saying, Zaporozhian Cossacks hid their treasures: gold, silver, jewelry, cut in pieces, guns and cannons. People are also saying that the Cossacks hid their treasures over there when the Russians were attacking the Zaporozhian Sich.[237]

What I find important in this account is that among the valuables, hidden by the Cossacks, are "guns and cannons"— their weapons and symbols of their special military status. These symbols and "occupational tools" accompany gold, silver and jewelry— the proceeds from the raids and the treasure, to which the Cossacks are entitled for their service. All of those

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[236] *Russkaia narodnaia istoricheskaia proza*, p. 117.

[237] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, p. 48. See Appendix D (№ 10).

"material treasures" are hidden by the Cossacks to deprive their enemies of a chance to claim them.

In yet another account, both the hidden treasure and the land which hosted them are portrayed as synonyms of "Cossack treasure." The idea was that first the Cossacks buried the treasures in their land, and later on those Cossacks returned to their homeland to die and to be buried, close to their hidden treasures:

> **Kuzma Lupai (D, № 14)**: On the island of Khortytsia, near the ravine of Savuta, there is a high clearing: *haidamaky* hid their treasures in there. Long ago, God knows when, [?] // they took booty near the town of Uman and put money and other valuables on four horses and began to flee; and a pursuit party was closing in on them. And among those brigands was an old man— a sorcerer. As soon as the Poles were closing in, the old man waved his kerchief— and a river appeared before the Poles. The brigands were riding and riding, again the pursuers drew nearer. The old man waved his kerchief again and the dense forest emerged, so dense that one could not stick their head between the trees. The Poles encountered it— and fell back. The *Haidamaky* rode towards the river Dnipro— and crossed over to the island of Khortytsia. There is no telling how long they were living there— but they hid money in the clearing and rode horses over to that site. After the demolition of the Sich, the Zaporozhians went under Turkish protection, and the *haidamaky* followed them. They returned in their old age to die in their native land; and that Zaporozhian Cossack, about whom I have been telling you, returned as well. People do not dare take the *haidamaky*'s money: it is unclean.[238]

In the account by Klym Belik, the concept of "native" land, where Cossack land is also portrayed as Christian and "sacred," receives its further development:

> **Klym Belik (B, № 2)**: During the reign of Hetman Ivan Mazepa the Cossacks betrayed the Russian Tsar and took refuge under Turkish rule. The Turks allotted them land and everything needed to settle in a new land. When a Cossack died, the land would not take him; when the second one died— the land would not take him, too, and // the third one as well. So, the Cossacks said: "O,

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[238] *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre*, p. 47. See Appendix D (№ 14).

> dear brethren! Let us return to Christian land for here the pagan land does not accept us in peace."
> And Peter the Tsar started calling them: "Come back," he said, "and you will suffer neither punishment nor mentioning of your guilt." So, they returned. Once my father was riding near the Tomb of Savur and over there great highways stretch before you: one leads to the Muscovite land, and the other one leads to our land.
> So, between those highways lies a huge piece of rock. And in his trip to the Don [Cossack land,] my father had a literate companion, Vasyl Kutsenko. So, my father told him: "Vasyl, go and read to me what is written on that rock." Vasyl did as he was told and read the following: "Damned, damned, damned will be the one, who plots to take the land from the Cossacks as long as the sun shines there!" A sovereign placed this spell [onto the Cossack land]...[239]

Numerous references towards the motifs "land as a treasure" and the "Cossack privileges as treasure" motifs can be found in the texts, provided in sections A and B of the Appendices. I view them as proof that the notion of "Cossack treasure" in folklore is more complex indeed, and include reference to Cossack lands, Cossack freedoms, and other privileges as "treasure" in their own right.

In an account by Dmytro Bykovsky there are references regarding Cossacks' reclaiming formerly desolated lands from the Turks by military force, and the description of the exact borders of the Cossack lands:

> **Dmytro Bykovsky (A, № 1)**: ...The rumors spread that somewhere lived Zaporozhians— an army that could not be overwhelmed. They were led by a Chieftain, who himself was a *kharakternyk.*
> Back then the land was unattended, abundant in beasts, serpents and birds.
> Zaporozhians had been living over there before they reclaimed the following lands from the Turks: from the river of Oril down to the sea in width, and from the river of Boh to the "Burnt Trunk" in length...[240]

In yet another account by Bykovsky, the informant describes how the humbled Tsar issues the document, which proves land ownership by the

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[239] Kulish, vol. 1, pp. 156-157.

[240] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, pp. 87-88. See Appendix A (№ 1).

Cossacks: "...He (the Tsar— *R. S.*) gave the requested document to the Cossacks, which defined the boundaries of the Cossack land as one hundred miles above and one hundred miles below the rapids..."[241]

Next account comes from Osyp Shut', who establishes connection between "land" and "freedom":

> **Osyp Shut' (A, № 7)**: ...from the outset, Zaporozhians had been known as *Kyyi* and did not live here, but somewhere in the woods near Kyiv. They were called *Kyyi* because they committed the acts of brigandry being armed with wooden poles (*kyi*). People tell that some prince Amlin, or something, began to call them to join his army and told them: "If you assist me in overcoming the Turks— then I shall give you the steppes, ravines and woods and the entire land in the low flowing of the Dnipro: you will live as free men over there." So, they assembled everybody they could and overwhelmed the Turks on the battlefield. Upon this victory Amlin gave them Dnipro and steppe below the rapids and they became known as Zaporozhians. They had forty regiments and a forty thousand-strong army, but Tsarina Kateryna chased them away and gave away their lands to the Germans...[242]

In my opinion, Osyp Shut' indeed establishes the parity between the notions of landownership and personal freedom, which may be viewed as a significant element in the Cossack system of values, as perceived by the informants. Similar to the material treasure of another kind (gold, silver and the like), land and personal freedom can be achieved in battle, but can also be lost under various precarious circumstances e.g., war, betrayal and so forth. However, there is considerable scholarly potential in further studying this topic, which occupies an important place in Ukrainian folklore and serves as a key to the people's mentality and their value system.

By and large, with a great degree of certainty, it is possible to affirm that besides the typical types and motifs, through which the topic of "treasures" is discussed in international folklore, folk prose about Ukrainian Cossacks introduces an original, "lifestyle as a treasure" type.

Concluding this chapter I would like to emphasize several important issues. Unlike the literary texts, the folk prose texts, which belong to the "Cossack cycle" of Ukrainian folklore, are not pre-occupied with establishing a lineage between the living people and their "glorious" ancestors. In folklore, glory, and everything which comes with it, is not inherited and sanctified by antiquity, but rather achieved as a result of commendable military service. As I have mentioned before, that was precisely the way for the "poor captives" and "shepherds" to achieve their status as members of the warrior caste, who possessed remarkable freedom and who ruled over their own lands.

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[241] *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo*, pp. 88-89. See Appendix A (№ 8).

[242] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

The accounts about "origin" (or "formation") portray the origins of the Cossacks and the foundation of their brotherhood as a necessity to survive in the wild steppe and to organize the resistance against the enemy during the times of trouble e.g., the war against the Turks or some other enemy. In those accounts, the Cossack Host emerges as an association of free men, who were ruled, or rather governed, by people of exceptional abilities—their Chieftains. Those anonymous Chieftains, historical Cossack figures, and all Cossacks in general are often described as powerful knights, serving the Christian monarchs, but also as bearers of various supernatural skills. The ideological contradiction between the Christian doctrine and the nature of some of those skills in folklore is traditionally solved thorough the invocation of motifs, which represent the Cossacks as God's servants, in addition to being the servants to the earthly Christian rulers.

For their service, the Cossacks were entitled to various privileges. Those ideas of "service" to the honorable cause of defending the land from the enemies, the "service" to a ruler and the idea of a "reward to the Cossacks for their service" clearly overshadow any other ideas, including the idea of "the Cossacks' origin." On the basis of the analysis of the folklore texts, it is possible to assert that the Cossacks treasured their special social status and their service, which that status both envisaged and required.

As I have shown, while discussing the topic of the Cossacks and their treasure, the motif of "a Cossack treasure" goes far beyond the reference towards the treasure in its direct sense— its material, monetary value. According to the idea conveyed by folk prose, the notion of "Cossack treasure" includes not only proceeds from their raids, rewards from the rulers (with money, weapons and even the land ownership), but rather the privilege of free living and honorable service to people, their earthly rulers and God Himself.

CONCLUSION: COSSACKS IN FOLKLORE AND LITERATURE: FORGING THE IMAGE

This chapter features a comparison of the content of legends and other categories of folklore. It also addresses the legends' influence upon 19th century Ukrainian literature.

5.1 A comparison of Cossack content among the folklore genres

I have described Cossack themes and motifs in folk poetry in Chapter 2, and their occurrence in legends in Chapters 3 and 4. A comparison of the images of Cossacks in poetry and prose will shed light on the specific contribution of folk legends.

Not all Cossack themes found in folk legends are present in other genres of Ukrainian folklore. In particular, as reflected in Table 1, folk poetry does not include motifs dealing with Cossack origins. While the other three main themes from Chapter 4 are represented in both poetry and prose, certain topics are dealt with quite differently. For purposes of this discussion, it is useful to subdivide the poetic genres and treat the more lyrical ones separately from the historical songs and *dumy*. Each of these two subdivisions, "lyrical" and "historical," presents the Cossacks somewhat differently.

TABLE 1: Representation of topics by genre

Genres / Themes	Lyrical songs and ballads	Historical songs and *dumy*	Folk legends
Origins	—	—	+
Characteristics	+	+	+
Individuals	+	+	+
Treasures	+	+	+

a. Genres of Ukrainian folklore and Cossacks' origin

The theme of Cossacks' origins is not found in either lyrical or historical poetry. These genres portray the Cossacks as an already formed group, either engaged in military activities or during peacetime. As shown in Chapter 4, the folk legends offer several storylines about their origin: escapees from military tribute, runaways, lost herdsmen, or descendents of other earlier peoples (*Kyyi*, *Chornohory*, *Khozary*), or founded by a remarkable boy leader.

The legends about the origins of Ukrainian Cossacks share elements with legends from other cultures, including Iranian and Irish stories. Aarne-Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* lists motifs about the origins of certain European peoples (A 1611.5) and groups of professional warriors (A 1658).[1] In particular, there seems to be a commonality between the motifs about the origins of a band of professional warriors (*fiana*) in Irish folklore, and motifs about Cossacks' origin.[2] The motifs of "captivity" and military tribute in the Ukrainian legends may reflect historic events in the struggle of the Cossacks against the Tatars. At the same time, "captivity" motifs are found practically in all European cultures.[3]

The existence of legends about the origins of Cossacks but the absence of this theme in other folkloric genres raises interesting questions. I suspect that these origin motifs are relatively recent ones (even though they purport to deal with the earliest times). The "dawn of Cossack history" for some informants seems to have meant quite recent events of the Russo-Turkish wars in the 18th century.[4] Perhaps these motifs entered the lore about Ukrainian Cossacks because of the new historical thinking which prompted romantic nationalists (like Kulish, Novytsky and Iavornytsky) to ask their informants very specific questions about origins. For instance, Iakiv Novytsky begins one of his interviews in the following way: "Where did Zaporozhians come from? —I ask Andrei..."[5] In these situations, the storytellers may have searched their memories for any relevant ideas, or improvised new narratives by drawing facts and inspiration from other stories they had heard (Cossacks as originating from brigands, escaped prisoners, etc.).[6] The informants' phrases, such as "I cannot positively establish when exactly and from what time the Zaporozhian Host came into being. However, when my ancestors came down to live on this borderland, it had already existed over there...," and "I heard this story from the old people when I, myself, was young" suggest the storytellers' attempts to solidify their responses.[7] Since eleven legends about Cossack origins have been recorded from various narrators in various times and places, it seems that the storytellers were managing to adjust their conceptualizations in the general direction of the collectors.

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[1] Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folklore Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends*. Revised and enlarged, ed. by Stith Thompson, vol. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana, UP, 1955), pp. 242-243, 246.

[2] See the motif A 1658.1 in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, p. 246. Also, see the motifs, which I ascribe to Type 1 ("Escapees from military tribute") and Type 2 ("Cossacks as runaways"), in Chapter 4 (section 4.1).

[3] See the motifs "Captivity-miscellaneous" (R 9) and "Other places of captivity" (R 49) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, pp. 268-274.

[4] For example, see texts, recorded from Dmytro Bykovsky (Appendix A (№ 1)) and Kostiantyn Kovalenko (Appendix A (№ 3)).

[5] Iakov Novitskii, "Iz narodnykh predanii o zaporozhtsakh" [From the folk tales about Zaporozhian Cossacks], *Kievskaia starina* (*KS*) 10 (1885): 350-353 (on page 350). See Appendix A (№ 2).

[6] See Appendix A.

The legend type which identifies *Khozary* as the ancestors of the Cossacks is particularly interesting.[8] It originated in the milieu of learned culture and called to serve the interests of Cossack political elite by establishing an ideological connection between the ancient *Khozarian* glory and modern Cossack fame. An echo of this concept evidently became a part of oral tradition. The elite concept of the noble ancient origins of the Cossacks lost its original content (specific literary motifs) and meaning (as a reflection of the Cossack nobility's agenda) and continued its existence as a simple folklore motif. The legend collected by Kulish actually has several motifs in it, whereas the account by Mykyta Korzh simply mentions *Khozary* as Cossack ancestors.

TABLE 2: Two texts mentioning *Khozary*

"An old man from Korsun" (collected by Kulish)	The former Cossack Mykyta Korzh (collected by Archbishop Gabriel (Rozanov)
The Zaporozhian Cossacks were first known as *Khozary* and they lived in Kaniv, then in Romankiv, then in Old Kodak, and later on they lived below Nikopol. There were three of them at the King's service. The king paid two of them for their services with money, and told to the third one: "So, I have paid two of you with money, and you, if you want, go to Kaniv and establish a settlement over there." So the third one went and established the Sich over there.[9]	I cannot positively establish when exactly and from what time the Zaporozhian Host came into being. However, when my ancestors came down to live on this borderland, it had already existed over there and according to an oral account, passed from my great-grandfather, grandfather and father I was informed that the mentioned Zaporozhian Cossacks in the times of old, were known as *Khozary*.[10]

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[7] *Ustnoe povestvovanie byvshago zaporozhtsa, zhitelia Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii i uezda, seleniia Mikhailovki, Nikity Leontievicha Korzha* [An oral account of the former Cossack Mykyta Korzh] (Odessa: V Gorodskoi tipografii, 1842), p. 10. See Appendix A (№ 6); Iakiv Novytsky, *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [Cossacks in folk memory] (Zaporizhzhia: Interbook, 1991), pp. 88-89 (on page 89). See Appendix A (№ 8).

[8] See Appendix A (№ 5 and № 6).

[9] Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 150. See Appendix A (№ 5).

[10] *Ustnoe povestvovanie*, p. 10. See Appendix A (№ 6).

Besides their obvious differences from each other, these two texts also demonstrate a drastic departure from the earlier literary form. The motif of inherited ancient glory, which constituted one of the pillars of the elitist *Khozarian* concept, appears to be totally missing from the available folklore texts. This can be seen by comparing the folkloric description of the *Khozars* with the literary characterization of these people, who "could not hide their natural power and bravery, like ashes cannot hide fire, [and] fought, under their leader, against all neighboring lands…conquered Greek lands, invaded Venice, and then Istria…"[11]

It is difficult to speak of a developed oral tradition with an emphasis on Cossack origin. What we have is relatively few accounts which describe the rise of the Cossacks. Origin legends often feature motifs which were borrowed either from specific literary works (e.g. Cossacks as *Khozary*) or fantastic tales which might not have previously been a part of the folklore about Ukrainian Cossacks (e.g., the motif of a Cossack sorcerer/chieftain's throwing a comb and a kerchief, from which a forest and river emerge and separate the fleeing Cossacks and their enemies).[12] The legends about the origins of Ukrainian Cossacks seem to have been emerging as a response to cultural demand.

b. Cossack characteristics

Cossack characteristics are an important theme in each of our categories; lyrical poetry, historic poetry, and prose legends. However, the content of these characteristics is quite different from category to category.

Ballads and lyrical songs tend to generalize about Cossacks and show them as brave, faithful and amorous. These are quite typical characteristics internationally. Depictions of Cossacks as military people clearly resemble some popular international motifs.[13] The motif of Cossack bravery is similar to the motifs "Tribal characteristics– bravery or cowardice" (A 1670) and "Tribal characteristics– warfare" (A 1675) from Aarne-

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[11] *The Chronicle of Colonel of Hadiach Hryhorii Hrabianka* (1854), pp. 5-7.

[12] Reference is made to the account of Kostiantyn Kovalenko in Porfyrii Martynovych, *Ukrains'ky zapysy* [Ukrainian records] (Kiev: Typ. Imperatorskago universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1906), pp. 257-259. See Appendix A (№ 3). See Type 313 ("The Girl as helper in the hero's flight") and types "Magic object" (D 800) and "Obstacle flight" (D 672) in Antti Aarne, *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography.* Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (FF Communications № 3), trans. and enlarged Stith Thompson, 2nd ed. (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1961), pp. 104-105, 218. Also, see Russian, Ukrainian and Berorussian parallels in *Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov. Vostochnoslavianskaia skazka* [The comparative index of motifs of East-Slavic tale], ed. K. V. Chistov, et. al. (Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1979), p. 114.

[13] See motifs from the types "Military affairs" (P 550) and "Army" (P 551) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 5, p. 178.

Thompson's index.[14] In general, lyrical poetry portrays Cossack characters in a very schematic way, without elaborating details or departing from a romantic "warrior-lover" cliché.[15]

Historical songs and *dumy* more often describe Cossack characteristics in greater detail, and paint a more animated and complex image of separate individuals or the entire group. Cossacks in those genres are typically shown as free people, brave warriors, faithful and pious Christians, victors and martyrs. Their actions are often described in the context of political, economic and social events taking place during specific historical periods.[16] Cossacks serve the sovereign bravely and faithfully and sometimes die in their service (like Cossack Fedir Bezridny, who dies for the "Tsar's cause"). In other cases, they are captured by the enemy and tortured to death (e.g., Cossack Baida). When Cossacks escape from captivity, they often suffer hardships and even betrayal of their Cossack brethren (like the abandoned Cossack in "The Three Brothers of Azov"). Yet in other texts, Cossacks overwhelm enemies in battle (Chieftain Matiash) and deliver their Cossack brethren from the wrath of God by confessing their own sins (Oleksii, the son of priest from Pyriatyn).[17] In general, historical songs and *dumy* feature complex plots and numerous motifs, which create an overall image of the Cossacks as positive characters and heroes: brave in victory and in defeat, faithful to their sovereign to death, and as pious Christians. Sometimes the Cossacks demonstrate negative qualities like cowardice or recklessness.

Folk legends lean towards picturing the Cossacks as folk heroes and in this respect are very similar to historical songs and *dumy*. They offer us numerous motifs concerning the physical and moral, natural and supernatural characteristics of the Cossacks.

Certain characteristics tend to be ascribed to folk heroes of all time periods and all people.[18] Heroic characters are described through certain typical actions (the feat, the contest, the test and the quest) and roles (the clever hero, the unpromising hero (or Cinderella), the defender or deliverer, the benefactor and the martyr), which they usually perform.[19] In general, the portrayal of Cossacks in Ukrainian folk legends commonly corresponds to one or more of the above-mentioned roles.

It may be instructive to review specific groups of motifs and compare their appearance in legends as opposed to historical songs and *dumy*.

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[14] Aarne-Thompson, vol. 6, p. 93.

[15] See Chapter 2 (section 2.2).

[16] See Chapter 2.

[17] See Chapter 2 (section 2.2).

[18] FitzRoy Richard Somerset, Baron Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1956), pp. 174-175; Orrin E. Klapp, "The Folk Hero," *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 62, № 243 (Jan.–Mar., 1949), p. 17; Bill Butler, *The Myth of the Hero* (London: Ryder & Company, 1979), pp. 28-29.

[19] Raglan, pp. 174-175; Klapp, pp. 19-22.

A first group of motifs relays physical characteristics of Ukrainian Cossacks, which often exceed ordinary human capacities.[20] In these texts, the Cossacks emerge as extremely strong and powerful people (the earth can hardly bear them, their heads weigh 250 pounds, they bend iron bars around their neck, people faint from the power of their breath).[21] Such exaggerations of physical strength serve as a means of asserting the Cossacks' status. Ukrainian historical songs and *dumy* usually do not articulate the exceptional physical strength of the Cossack heroes per se, instead shifting their focus to Cossack bravery and military prowess.

A second motif group deals with the portrayal of Cossacks in war and describes their bravery and military prowess (Cossack Vasiurynsky; Marusia, the Cossack daughter).[22] Historical poetry also reveals some remarkable motifs of Cossack bravery and military prowess: young Cossack Konovchenko manages to stack "seven thousand of them [the slain Turks and Tatars] like hay and to take five thousand prisoners..." and the old chieftain Matiash defeats "six thousand Turkish Janissaries..."[23]

Cossack military prowess is sometimes manifested through trickery. In these cases, the Cossacks can be seen as tricksters in the sense of "the perennial triumph of brains over brawn."[24] The Cossack heroes overwhelm a more powerful enemy with their wits (e.g., securing a military victory by outsmarting the foes or making them think that the Cossacks pledge allegiance to Turkish Sultan instead of the Russian Tsar). Another example shows that the Cossacks' taking the Turkish fortress through trickery is not reproached, but respected as a manifestation of Cossack wit and military genius.[25] Historical songs and *dumy* also provide examples of Cossack trickery. Cossack Holota rides to the Tatar city of Kylyia and tricks his opponent into the field by posing as potential prey. A Tatar wants to seize Holota, but when he rides for a duel with Cossack Holota, the latter does not fight his opponent hand-to-hand, but shoots him from a distance: "He rose in his stirrups, poured a large charge of powder and sent a lead gift into the Tatar's chest."[26]

In some legends, Cossack trickery is given a humorous spin. As we can see from the account by Klym Belik,[27] a Cossack, sent by the chieftain to settle the dispute between the peasant and the Cossacks, does so by penalizing all the parties equally. Consequently, the negotiator benefits from such a settlement unilaterally, and all the quarreling sides are outwitted and humbled. In folklore in general and in Ukrainian folklore in particular, the trickster is often viewed as a clever hero, which is an important characteristic in conceptualizing any character as a "culture hero."[28]

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[20] Raglan, pp. 174-175; Klapp, p. 19.

[21] See Appendix B (№ 3, № 6, and № 16).

[22] See Appendix B (№ 3, № 22).

[23] *Ukrainian Dumy*, trans. George Tarnawsky, et. al., intro. Natalie Kononenko Moyle (Toronto; Cambridge: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1979), pp. 117, 135.

[24] Klapp, p. 20.

[25] See Appendix B (№ 12).

[26] *Ukrainian Dumy*, pp. 107-109.

[27] See Appendix B (№ 2).

A third motif group in the legends depicts the Cossacks as people of great pride. Pride is viewed in the texts as a positive characteristic when Cossacks are described walking proudly or riding proudly, wearing glamorous clothing and carrying weapons.[29] The Cossacks are seen as possessing impressive skills (superb riders or dancers).[30] However, pride can also turn into arrogance, as when the Cossacks mock the peasants.[31] Historical songs and *dumy* treat Cossack pride in a twofold manner as well. The pride of being a Cossack is seen in the monologue of Cossack Holota, addressed to his opponent, the Tatar: "You have not been among Cossacks, you have not eaten Cossack porridge, and you do not know the Cossack customs…"[32] The *duma* about elder chieftain Matiash uses some of the same words to communicate pride turned to arrogance. Twelve Cossacks of his detail act recklessly due to their pride and overconfidence:

> O Cossacks, my brave lords,
> You are doing dangerous things!
> …The Tatar land is not far from here.
> …Then the Cossacks laughed at Otaman Matiash:
> "It looks as if you, old Otaman Matiash,
> Have not lived among the Cossacks,
> It looks as if you have not eaten Cossack porridge,
> It looks as if you have not learned the Cossack customs…"[33]

Those motifs of Cossack pride and various elements, which explain this important characteristic of the members of the Cossack brotherhood (military service, rich weapons, clothes, etc.), may indicate that the issue of social elevation was indeed an important part of any Cossack's philosophy. As such, this attitude may have been passed along with other folklore about Ukrainian Cossacks to other groups of Ukrainian people, affecting their views about the Cossacks.

A fourth motif group characterizes Cossacks as being faithful to a monarch. These motifs usually detail Cossack service, faithfulness, bravery in the face of the enemy, and the rewards granted to them by the monarch in response.[34] In historical poetry, the theme of Cossack military service is more often accompanied by the themes of suffering on the battlefield and the heroic death of the Cossacks: "It was for a great cause, the Tsar's cause, that many Cossacks had fallen, had been cut down by the sword, and that not a single Cossack had been left alive..."[35] I view this as an another example of the manifestation of differences between poetry and prose in presenting certain ideas. Whereas prose is more focused on the development of "service-reward" juxtaposition, poetry, with few exceptions, elaborates on the topic of Cossack suffering, giving a more poetic perception of Cossacks and their life.

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[28] Michael P. Carroll, "The Trickster as Selfish-Buffoon and Culture Hero," *Ethos*, vol. 12, № 2, (Summer 1984), pp. 105-107.

[29] See Appendix B (№ 5, № 7).

[30] See Appendix B (№ 2, № 5).

[31] See Appendix B (№ 2).

[32] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 109.

[33] Ibid., p. 135.

A fifth group of motifs in the legends portrays Cossacks as humorous, witty people.[36] A Cossack is quick to mock the person who was trying to make him share his food at the tavern. In another text, a person described as Cossack laughs at a landlord who marvels at their similar physical appearance: "...— is there a chance that your mother washed the laundry at the estate of my father? —"No, she did not," the Cossack replied, "but my father attended the fireplace at you mother's living quarters for eight years."[37] The perceived Cossack characteristic of trickery finds its reflection in poetry as well.[38]

A sixth motif group characterizes Cossacks as people with personal weaknesses such as drunkenness.[39] Folk poetry also occasionally presents Cossacks as wandering and unruly drunkards:

> ...
> The Cossack is wandering the Cossack is roaming the land,
> He has drunk the entire value of his gray oxen and black cows
> And does not show up at his house...[40]

The motifs of a seventh group refer to Cossacks as brigands. We have seen these motifs in the legends about the origin of the Cossacks. However, in those texts, this topic is not discussed at length. Other texts however, reveal a picture of the Cossacks as a menace to the neighboring peoples (Tatars and Poles), as well as to Ukrainians (peasants and even other Cossacks). While the storytellers appear to tolerate the Cossack raids against the Tatars and Poles, they criticize Cossack attacks on Ukrainian peasants and even their own kin.[41] In the legends documented with these motifs, the storyteller still seems to attempt to portray a generally positive image of the Ukrainian Cossacks. In Ukrainian folk poetry, the topic of Cossack brigandage is largely ignored. Instead, songs and *dumy* associate Cossack attacks against their brethren with betrayal of faith and comradeship. Sava Chalyi, though raised by his father as a Cossack and his heir, betrayed the Cossack way of life and began serving the Poles by catching other Cossacks:

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[34] See Appendix A (№ 7), Appendix B (№ 11) and Appendix B (№ 18).

[35] *Ukrainian Dumy*, p. 123.

[36] See Appendix B (№ 9, № 10).

[37] Ibid.

[38] Filiaret Kolessa, *Ukrains'ka usna slovesnist'* [Ukrainian oral literature,] intro. Mikuláš Mušinka. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies; University of Alberta, 1983, p. 426.

[39] See Appendix B (№ 21).

[40] *Ukrains'ka narodna tvorchist'. Rekruts'ki ta soldats'ki pisni* [The recruit and soldier songs] (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1974), p. 447.

> Hey, there was in the Sich an old Cossack by the name of Chalyi,
> He raised his son Sava for the Cossacks' glory.
> That Sava did not want to serve the Cossacks,
> But moved to Poland to live like a noble lord,
> And that Sava wanted glory for himself,
> And he began catching Cossacks-Zaporozhians in the steppes…[42]

An eighth motif group presents Cossacks as seducers and even as slave traders, who trick maidens and sometimes their parents.[43] This application of "Cossacks as tricksters" motif represents the most negative portrayal of Cossacks in Ukrainian folk legends. Such motifs occasionally appear in folk poetry as well.

A ninth group of motifs deals with the Cossack characteristics of independence, confidence and self-reliance.[44] Folk poetry often deals with universal qualities and values. These are clearly expressed through as folk poetry of various genres communicates in stereotypical and generalized images.

A tenth group of motifs deals with supernatural characteristics. While historical poetry may occasionally ascribe some supernatural features to the Cossacks (like exceptional bravery and strength of chieftain Matiash, who overwhelms thousands of enemies), [45] it does not develop them to the level of sophistication and variety found in the folk legends. In folk legends, the Cossacks emerge as being invincible to bullets and blades; they can create obstacles between them and their enemies using magic; they may turn into animals and objects, or they may make their enemies slaughter one another.[46] These motifs resemble some of the motifs from Aarne-Thompson index, for instance "Witch catches, sends back bullets" (G 229.4.2 and G 265.8.3.1.2) with the closest known parallels in Irish and Lithuanian folklore.[47] The principle difference between the international "witch" motifs and the "witch" motifs about Ukrainian Cossacks is that the Cossacks are portrayed as heroes rather than malicious beings. This difference is significant. Supernatural powers are never used in the descriptions of mischievous and villainous behavior by Cossacks in the folk legends. The use of supernatural characteristics is exclusively for the benefit of other people and the Cossack cause. Therefore, I view this as an important element in conceptualizing the Cossacks as popular folk heroes.

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[41] See Appendix B (№ 2).

[42] Kolessa, pp. 359-360.

[43] See Appendix B (№ 4, № 5, and № 8).

[44] See Appendix B (№ 1).

[45] See a discussion in Chapter 2 (section 2.2).

[46] See Chapter 4 (section 4.2.b).

On the whole, lyrical and historical poetry seem to share certain motifs when portraying Ukrainian Cossacks. Though these categories of folk texts describe Cossack victories and defeats, bravery and cowardice, faithfulness and treachery, they tend to dwell on topics of martyrdom, sufferings and death. At the same time, historical poetry stands much closer to folk legends in its complex treatment of Cossack characteristics. Also, historical poetry stands very close to folk legends in terms of storyteller-audience attitudes: people tended to believe that the events portrayed in historical songs, *dumy* and legends actually took place. On the other hand, there are two major differences between historical poetry and legends. First, the topic of Cossack suffering and martyrdom has a very limited representation in the legends (Colonel Palii's captivity and sufferings and death of Hetman Polubotok serve as exceptions). On the other hand, these topics seem to be very common in historical songs and *dumy*. The prose texts tend not to dwell extensively on human emotion, but rather focus on plot. Second, unlike poetry, legends focus not only on Cossacks' natural characteristics, but also on the supernatural. The conceptualization of the Cossacks as *kharakternyky* is limited to folk legends and is virtually absent from folk poetry.

c. Cossack individuals

Cossacks are sometimes presented as individuals in folk poetry and in legends. Once again, each of these categories of genres tends to address this theme quite differently.

Lyrical poetry typically depersonalizes individuals, making them conform to a generalized type. "A Cossack" rides to "war" against an obscure "enemy"; he is dying on some unnamed battlefield; or his "sweetheart" falls ill and he rushes back, but arrives too late. In general, as romantic characters, warriors and lovers, Cossacks serve as illustrations for common human virtues and misgivings. They are rarely presented as named individuals in lyrical songs.

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[47] Aarne-Thompson, vol. 3, p. 293. For international "maliciousness of the witches" motifs see "Evil deeds of witches" (G 260) and "Witch injures, enchants or transforms" (G 263) in Aarne-Thompson, vol. 3, p. 299.

Historical poetry, on the other hand, more often deals with concrete Cossack individuals, perhaps placing them within specific historical settings. Some of these Cossack individuals are historical personages whose existence is confirmed by other sources (e.g., Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Sirko and Semen Palii). This category of folk poetry also names Cossack characters that we do not know from historical sources (e.g. Holota and Fedir Bezridny). In still other cases, like the "three brothers of Samarka," the individuals are not named, but nonetheless are portrayed with individualized personalities. These characters are shown not only as members of a certain group, but also as individuals and participants of specific historical events.

Folk legends present Cossack characters very similarly to historical poetry, often showing them as particular people living during an identifiable historical period, and as participants of actual historical events. Both historical poetry and legends can provide numerous details pertaining to characters and events, creating a complex picture.

The following table provides an illustration of which individuals are the subjects of historical poetry and legends. Interestingly, the principal difference between these categories of folklore has to do with chronology. The legends do not include individuals from the early periods of Cossack history.

TABLE 3: Cossack individuals in historical poetry and legends

Genres / Individuals	**Historical poetry**	**Legends**
"Baida" (Dmytro Baida-Vyshnevetsky), Hetman (d. 1563)	+	—
Samiilo Kishka, Hetman (d. 1605)	+	—
Petro Konashevych Sahaidachny, Hetman (d. 1622)	+	—
Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman (d. 1657)	+	+
Ivan Sirko, Chieftain (d. 1680)	+	+
Semen Palii, Colonel (d. 1711)	+	+

Iosyp Hladky, Colonel (d. 1866)	+	+

Folk poetry contains many texts dedicated to the resistance of the Cossacks against Turkish and Tatar attacks in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Poetry focuses on Turkish captivity, escapes from that captivity and death.[48] Hetman Samiilo Kishka (1603-1605) and Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi (1614-1622) are examples of historical figures from that period. The "*Duma* about Oleksii Popovych from Pyriatyn" also relates to events of that time, which saw an upsurge of Cossack naval expeditions against Turkish strongholds.[49]

Folk legends about the Cossacks explore the topic of the Cossacks fighting against the Turks and Tatars as well. However, there are no folk legends which unambiguously portray the events of the 16th and early 17th centuries. The names of the Cossacks and analysis of the narrative content indicate that these texts largely relate the events of the later 17th and 18th centuries, when the Cossacks fought the Ottoman Porte under the patronage of the Russian Empire.[50] Chieftain Ivan Sirko (d. 1680) and Colonel Semen Palii (d. 1711) participated in this later period. The personality and adventures of Cossack chieftain Iosyp Hladky (d. 1866) are connected to the events of the first third of the 19th century, when some of the Cossacks returned from Turkey to serve the Russian Tsar. More obscure characters as "Chieftain Kravchyna" and "Cossack Vasiurynsky" also tend to relate to events of the 18th century; in the first case, the popular uprising against the Poles in 1768 (*Haidamachchyna*) and in the second case, a Russian attack on the Sich in 1709 or 1775.[51]

The absence of legends about early Cossack history is perhaps related to the greater flexibility of folk prose. As new heroes appeared, they tended to overshadow the characters of earlier times. New stories replaced the old.

The significance of fantastic elements in the descriptions of certain Cossack individuals is another important difference between the legends and historical songs. Legends contain much more supernatural content. Perhaps the earliest stories of the Cossack heroes, Chieftain Ivan Sirko for example, initially portrayed the main character relatively realistically, depicting actual events as observed first hand. As the stories were repeated however, they seem to have incorporated more exaggeration and more fantastic content. Motifs from folk tales and other stories migrated in. With time, legends incorporated international fantastic motifs, like "Witch catches, sends back bullets" (G 229.4.2) and "Transformation to gain access to enemy's camp (fortress)" (D 641.2).[52] Ivan Sirko asks his adjutant to slash him with a saber and remains unhurt; the same happens when he is shot at. The hero turns into a hound, enchants the Tatars, secures a Cossack victory and liberates the Christian captives.[53] These narratives engage features of both legend and tale. I believe that those motifs complemented the reputation of the historical Sirko as an invincible, fierce fighter and able leader, providing a possible explanation of that character's outstanding accomplishments.

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[48] *Chansons politiques du peuple Ukrainien XVIII-XIX ss.*, iv-vi; Kateryna Hrushevska, *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy* [Ukrainian Folk Epic Recitations], vol. 1 (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy; Istorychna sektsiia Ukrains'koi akademii nauk, 1927), pp. 1-149. This volume of Hrushevska's work contains 13 epic recitations with variants, which belong to the earlier cycle of Ukrainian folk poetry.

[49] See Chapter 2.

[50] See Chapter 4 (section 4.3).

[51] See Chapter 4 (section 4.3).

As noted in the previous chapter, the most intriguing pair of characters in the folk legends about Ukrainian Cossacks is Colonel Semen Palii, whom I consider to be a genuine culture hero of Ukrainian folklore, and his folkloric antipode Hetman Ivan Mazepa.[54] Both individuals are portrayed as knights and *kharakternyky*, and emerge as central figures in the historical conflict between Peter I of Russia and Charles XII of Sweden. Compared to Palii and Mazepa, the latter figures are much less prominent. Peter I appears in folk legends as a cruel tyrant and a feeble leader who is no match for Mazepa. The Russian Tsar begs Palii for help. The encounter between Russia and Sweden is presented as a battle between Semen Palii and Ivan Mazepa. The description of their rivalry and final battle reaches epic proportions.

As I have noted in Chapter 4 (section 4.3), in the legends all the supernatural powers of Semen Palii are explained by God's intervention, e.g. "...he was a wizard, a Godly one."[55] In order to emphasize Palii's qualities as those of a "culture hero," particularly him being a good Christian, legends provide explanations of the source of the hero's special powers.

Palii is portrayed as a knight and *kharakternyk* in folk legends. He rides to battle— his enemies don't see him; he circles the opposing force with banners— enemy soldiers slay themselves. He rides against Mazepa's army with twelve Cossacks— and is victorious. He is called "a Cossack" while Mazepa (who was historically a Cossack Hetman) is depicted in the legends as "a foreigner who wanted to plunder everybody."[56] The rivalry between Palii and Mazepa, though void of most of the fantastic motifs found in legends, is found in historical poetry as well. Palii is portrayed as a faithful and strong warrior facing the "cursed Mazepa" who brings "pagans" into his native land.[57] Palii's victory over Mazepa in folk poetry is no less certain than it is in folk legends.

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[52] Aarne-Thompson, vol. 3, p. 293; vol. 2, p. 71.

[53] See Chapter 4 (section 4.3).

[54] See Appendix C (№ 12, № 13, № 14, and № 15).

[55] See Appendix C (№ 16).

[56] See Appendix C (№ 19).

[57] See a discussion in Chapter 2 (section2.2).

Despite certain differences between poetry and prose, both categories of folk texts promote the idea of Cossacks as popular heroes. The creative application of fantastic motifs to legends about Ukrainian Cossacks has to do with the people's desire to empower their favorite heroes and to elevate them over others.

d. Cossack treasures

The topic of Cossack *treasures* is addressed differently in all three categories of folklore texts as well. Lyrical songs and ballads rarely refer to Cossack treasures as collections of material objects. Historical songs and *dumy* occasionally make reference to treasures in a narrow sense, as material wealth that proceeds from the Cossack raids. Hence, we see Otaman Matiash and his Cossacks divide "Turkish gold and silver among themselves" after their glorious victory,[58] Cossack Holota also takes home the spoils of his victory:

> … [Cossack Holota] then took great care,
> Pulled off the Tatar's boots,
> And put them on his Cossack feet;
> He tore off the clothes,
> And placed them on his Cossack shoulders…
> He took the Tatar's horse by the reigns,
> And reached the Sich…[59]

Legends also incorporate descriptions of material wealth. Stephan Shtepa spoke of how "…the Zaporozhian Cossacks hid their treasures: gold, silver, jewelry, cut in pieces, guns and cannons..."[60] Legends about Cossack treasures show a strong presence of fantastic motifs from the international repertoire. For instance, the motif of a Cossack as the guardian of hidden treasures echoes the motifs from the following types "Culture hero still lives" (A 570), "Treasure pointed out by supernatural creature" (N 538) and "Captivity in the mound" (R 45),[61] "Fearless person and his friends play cards in the church" (326 E) and "The dead person worries about his treasure" (326 J).[62]

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[58] *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy i istorychni pisni* [Ukrainian folk epic recitations and historical songs], ed. M. T. Ryl's'kyi, et. al. (Kyiv: AN URSR, 1955), pp. 135-136.

[59] *Ukrainian Dumy*, pp. 109-111.

[60] Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 48. See Appendix D (№ 10).

[61] Aarne-Thompson, vol. 1, p. 124; vol. 5, p. 273.

[62] *Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov*, p. 119.

As argued in Chapter 4, the concept of Cossack treasures can be expanded beyond physical objects to include their homeland, lifestyle, freedom, and the people they love. The main Cossack "treasures" in lyrical songs and ballads are love, faithfulness, sacrifice; feelings and their role in interpersonal relations.[63]

This broader notion of Cossack treasures also receives its development in historical songs, *dumy* and folk legends. In historical poetry "native land" is clearly treasured: "Liberate the captives from slavery, O Lord, let them reach the merry land, and the Christian people."[64] Folk legends express similar sentiments:

> … The Turks allotted them [Cossacks] land and everything needed to settle in a new land. When a Cossack died the land would not take him; when the second one died— the land would not take him too and // the third one as well. So, the Cossacks said: "O, dear brethren! Let us return to Christian land, for here the pagan land does not accept us in peace."[65]

The motifs of "native," "Christian," "Cossack's own," or "granted" land are found in many legends about Ukrainian Cossacks. The concept of the "land as treasure" is consistently connected to other "treasures" of military status, personal freedom and service to a Christian monarch. Overall, in folk legends, a strong emphasis is made upon Cossack status and life as their ultimate treasure.[66]

The portrayal of Ukrainian Cossacks in lyrical and historical poetry and in folk legends is subject to the means of poetic expression for each category of performance. I recognize that poetic forms in general tend to be more stable because of their formal structure with its common attributes of rhythm and rhyme (*dumy* constituting a partial exception). Prose forms may be more fluid and changeable from performance to performance. When *dumy* and certain historical and lyrical songs were performed by professional performers, *kobzari*, these traditional texts tended to be somewhat unified and stabilized; words were influenced by the formal training, the experience and focus of the performer. Many other songs tended to be performed in less formal situations, albeit often sung in groups which also had a stabilizing effect on the content. Prose storytellers performed generally as individuals.

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[63] See Chapter 2 (section 2.1).

[64] *Ukrainian Dumy*, pp. 30-35 (on page 35).

[65] Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 156-165 (on page 156). See Appendix B (№ 2).

[66] See a discussion in Chapter 4 (section 4.4).

When dealing with familiar narratives, this situation allowed for a fair bit of variation while interacting with the listeners and experimenting with expressive techniques. They had frequent opportunities to incorporate personal observation and attitudes into their narratives. When responding to specific historical questions of the folklore collectors, the narratives may have been even more likely to be idiosyncratic. Some of the legends involve similar motifs being used by narrators in different areas and at different times. In these cases, we might suspect that the motifs may have been in some general circulation. In other cases, legend types in our corpus are recorded in one variant, and we have very little sense of their part in tradition.

The image of Cossacks as popular heroes was still being formed in 19th century Ukrainian folklore. It does not appear to have been formalized or actively promoted in the folk context. Various genres express their differences, while treating the topic of Ukrainian Cossacks. Lyrical songs and ballads picture "a Cossack" as a romantic figure: a lover and a warrior, whose military status is basically a tool for romanticizing his character. Those texts tell us little about the other aspects of the Cossack character and Cossack life. On the other hand, historical poetry gives us a more historical sense of the Cossacks, depicting them somewhat more as actual people involved in various military and peacetime activities. Historical songs and *dumy* also relate some of the Cossack worldview, or rather what people in 19th century Ukraine believed to be the Cossack worldview. The same is true for folk legends as well, though the legends go further in some respects. Additional motifs create a more elaborate picture of the historical experience of the Cossacks, and additional fantastic elements provide some insight into the ideals. In folk legends of the 19th century, we see the ideal image of the Cossack being solidified.

5.2 Ukrainian Cossacks and their image: from folklore to elite literature

The folk legends we have been examining influenced 19th century Ukrainian literature and elite culture by contributing motifs to the general image of "a Cossack." In this subchapter, I concentrate upon the most immediate influences, adaptation of certain Cossack motifs by several of the folklore collectors in their non-ethnographic literary and historical works.

In Panteleimon Kulish's fiction novel *Chorna rada* (1857) we find several motifs from the folk legends he collected.. In Chapter 8, a Zaporozhian Cossack Kyrylo Tur is talking to his "called brother" (*pobratym*) Chornohor about kidnapping a maiden from her parent's house using his special powers (*kharakterstvo*):

> Chornohor: —And how will you snatch the maiden without raising an alarm?
>
> Tur: —Ha-ha, lord, my brother! Is this miracle a match to other miracles, ever performed by Zaporozhian Cossacks? Do you think I put spells on all doors [in her house] all for nothing?[67]

Later in the text, Tur is seen riding with the maiden, Lesia, who looks "as if she was enchanted," sleeping or unconscious, "mourning as if seeing something scary in her dream."[68] The "kidnapping of a maiden" motif resembles the motif from a *memorate* collected by Kulish and published in his *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi*: "In the days of old it happened that a Cossack would lure a maiden, take her to the Cossack land beyond the rapids of the river Dnipro, sell her and then return…"[69] The two passages are very similar, however the folkloric texts published never involve Cossacks using their special powers to commit a dishonorable deed.

As I have pointed out in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, folk legends generally avoid showing Cossacks using their special powers to commit dishonorable acts and Kulish's folklore collection is no exception. Then, there is question about the author's using the motif of Cossack as tricksters with special powers in his novel? Kulish's negative attitudes toward Cossacks may have influenced this re-interpretation of the folkloric motif to amplify Cossack's darker characteristics.[70]

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[67] Panteleimon Kulish, *Chorna rada* [The rebels' council], *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*, vol. 2 (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1989), p. 57.

[68] *Chorna rada*, p. 59.

[69] Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Alexandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 102. See Appendix B (№ 8).

We find other motifs about Cossacks as *kharakternyky* in *Chorna rada*. For instance, upon hearing the above-mentioned exchange between Tur and Chornohor, the character Petro began thinking:

> "And if this is true that he [Tur] is *kharakternyk*? On more than one occasion I heard from the old Cossacks that those vagrants, sitting in the reeds and marshes, make friends with devil. They were snatching prisoners from captivity and Turkish women, and were so crafty in doing this, as if they were helped [by the evil spirit]. So, it is not accidental that people talk about their special powers (*kharakterstvo*)… While running from the Tatars, he [the *kharakternyk*] would stretch his robe on the water and sail to the other bank… Well, this is nonsense what Poles are saying that Zaporozhian Cossacks are growing from the earth like mushrooms in their lands in Great Valley (*Velykyi luh*), and that such a Cossack (*kharakternyk*) has nine souls in his body so that to kill him takes as much effort as to kill nine ordinary Cossacks. Well, this story about [sailing] the robe may not be entirely truthful. But it is true that for the Cossack to steal anything he wants is no more difficult than to get tobacco from his pocket. They enchant people…"
> Then he also remembered that old Khmelnytsky had one man who could enchant people… "Why, you think you can guard me? Only if I want, you will never keep me in! Put me in a sack and tie it up." So, they tied the knot up, but that man comes in from behind the door: "Well, devils' children! How did you guard me?"[71]

The motifs of Cossacks enchanting people and magically escaping from captivity are both found in Kulish's collection of folklore and one of his literary works. In the legend "About Zaporozhian *khymorodnyky* or *kaverznyky*"[72] collected by Kulish, an old Zaporozhian Cossack, chained and incarcerated in the cell, in order to demonstrate his supernatural abilities asks prison guards to put him in the sack and tie it up:

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[70] See a discussion on Kulish and his views in the Introduction.

[71] *Chorna rada*, p. 58.

[72] On the term *khymorodnyk* see Chapter 4. *Kaverznyk*, which literally means "the trickster," is another version of *kharakternyk* and *khymorodnyk*.

> So, Zaporozhian Cossack said: "Put me in the sack and tie it up. You will see whether you can keep me in." —"But how [are you going to do this]?"… So, [this Cossack] will go into this sack and will be tied in it and attached to the ceiling, and then call [to his guards] from behind the door: "Well, devil's children! How did you guard me?"[73]

The similarities between the folkloric and literary texts are very strong. They clearly indicate that Kulish used folklore materials directly while working on his *Chorna rada*. The motif "Magic transportation by cloak (cape)" (D. 1520.6) from *Chorna rada* is well-known in international folklore as well as in folk legends about Ukrainian Cossacks.[74] Though Kulish did not specifically publish such a legend in his *Zapiski*, there is little doubt that these motifs, as well as the ones about Cossacks' growing from the ground and having nine lives, have folkloric origin. They may have been learned by the author during his expeditions in the 1840s or from other collectors' publications.

Another example of such use of folklore comes from Kulish's dramatic play *Baida, kniaz Vyshnevetsky* (1884).[75] One of the Cossack chieftains persuades Baida not to worry about the danger during this campaign, saying: "Our father, prince! Be safe and forget about danger. The *kharakternyk* will be sailing with us: he knows how to avert the [enemy's] pursuit party."[76] It is interesting that in this play the *kharakternyk*, "old man Kostyr," is credited with saying church prayers to protect his brethren. Moreover, in this play the author makes no connection between Cossacks, their special powers, and dishonorable or malicious acts. Such a change might have been triggered by criticism of Kulish's anti-Cossack views by his contemporaries. He re-evaluated some of his views later in life, softening his negative position on the Cossack's role in Ukrainian history.

Dmytro Iavornytsky incorporated folk legends into the body of his major historical work *Istoriia zaporozhskikh kazakov* [The history of Zaporozhian Cossacks] (1892-1897).[77] During his ethnographic and folkloric expeditions to the former Cossack lands, Iavornytsky visited the village of

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[73] *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi*, vol. 1, pp. 78-79.

[74] Aarne-Thompson, vol. 6, p. 83. In this dissertation I identify this motif as "Cossacks possess magical means of transportation." See legends collected by I. Manzhura and H. Boiko in Appendix A (№ 10, № 11). Also see the discussion in Chapter 4.

[75] Panteleimon Kulish, "Baida, kniaz Vyshnevetsky" [Baida, the prince of Vyshnyvets], *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*, vol. 2 (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1989), pp. 332-456. It was originally published as a separate book in Saint-Petersburg in 1884.

[76] Ibid., p. 408.

[77] The "initiation ceremony" (B № 1) is cited in full on pages 146-147 of volume 1; the legend about Cossack Vasiurynsky (B № 3) is mentioned on page 236 of the same volume (pages are given as in repr., Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1990 edition).

Kapulivka, where he saw the tomb of the Chieftain of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Ivan Sirko. There he collected several folk legends about Sirko.[78] Unfortunately, in his *Zaporozh'e...*, Iavornytsky frequently presents texts and fragments without providing any information on his informants or collecting situation. In one such case he wrote:

> [People] say that Sirko did not come to the Lord's world as ordinary people do. "When he was born, the midwife took him in her arms and brought him to the table, and on that table there were pies with liver. Sirko took one pie and ate it. You see, he was born with teeth and throughout his life he was eating his enemies [like those pies]..."[79]

Writing about Ivan Sirko in the second volume of his *Istoriia...*, Dmytro Iavornytsky notes that:

> Ivan Dmitrievich Sirko, called "Tsyrko" by the Germans, "Serko or Serik" by the Russians, represented the most prominent figure from among the Zaporozhian Cossacks in their entire history. He was born in Merefa, the Cossack village in Sloboda Ukraine, now the Kharkiv region, some 24 kilometers from Kharkiv itself. One legend about Sirko's birth tells us that he was born with all of his teeth, grabbed a stuffed pie and ate it. That was a premonition that he will grind at his enemies [later in his life]. However, we know nothing about the year he was born or specifics about his parents and how old was Sirko when his name first made history...[80]

Iavornytsky noted that people talk about Sirko fighting the devil. Once upon a time Sirko was walking along the river near where the Cossack Sich was being built. He saw that the devil was swimming in that river, took out his pistol, and shot devil then and there. Since that time people began calling that river *Chortomlyk* ("the place where devil was drowned").[81]

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[78] Dmitrii Evarnitskii, *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda* [Folk memories and antiquities related to Zaporozh'e], part II (St.- Petersburg: Izdanie L. F. Panteleeva, 1888; repr., Kyiv: Veselka, 1995), pp. 304-315.

[79] Ibid., p. 313.

[80] Dmitrii Evarnitskii, *Istoriia zaporozhskikh kazakov* [The history of Zaporozhian Cossacks], vol. 2 (St.- Petersburg: Tip. Skorokhodova, 1895; repr., Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1990), p. 229.

[81] *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny*, pp. 313-314. See a similar motif in which Semen Palii kills the devil (personified in snake) in Appendix C (№ 18).

A woman from Kapulivka, Zynoviia Nelipa, told Iavornytsky a legend, according to which Sirko's tomb contained not Chieftain himself, but only his arm: "When Sirko was dying, he told his Cossacks: 'Those who will carry my arm with them will cut down enemies day and night.' Then he supposedly died. And the Cossacks dried his arm and took it with them to battles for seven years, capturing all of the enemy's cities [with its help]... Here his arm is buried, and Sirko himself is wandering the world even as we speak..."[82]

The examples above indicate that folk legends about Cossacks or separate motifs from them became adopted into various genres of 19th century Ukrainian literature. Establishing the full extent of the impact of folk legends on Ukrainian literature requires further studies.

The elevation of the Cossacks to the role of national icon in the 19th century is only partially related to the folk and folklore. This elevation became possible due to a conscious attempt by the members of Ukrainian educated circles to bolster the creation of the modern Ukrainian national identity during the 1800s and early 1900s.

"Identity" is an intellectual construct which exists in a specific cultural milieu. "A sense of common ancestry, shared memories and common cultural traits" form the basis of an identity system for any peoples.[83] Kievan Rus' knights, Orthodox noblemen in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and more recently the Ukrainian Cossacks have been installed into the pantheon of national heroes. They were chosen to personify the centuries-long existence of the Ukrainian nation, culture and state.

The existence of oral tradition alone was not sufficient for the creation of national identity. Members of the Ukrainian intellectual community and nationalist circles of that time needed to look into history to substantiate their claims. The folklore about the Cossacks would never become one of the sources of national revival without being collected, published and popularized by 19th century scholars and cultural activists. As Ihor Shevchenko puts it in the closing comments of his *Ukraine between East and West*:

> From several roots, among which were the Byzantine ones, going back to Kievan Rus', and the Western ones, which took hold when Ukrainian lands constituted a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a Ukrainian culture and consciousness had

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[82] *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny*, p. 314. Some ten years later, Iavornytsky recorded another variant of this legend from the resident of that same village Tymofii Zabutnii. See Appendix C (№ 11).

[83] Lesley Johnson, "Imagining Communities: Medieval or Modern," *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Allan V. Murray, *Leeds Texts and Monographs* (New Series 14), 1995, pp. 3-5.

> evolved by 1700 that would serve, along with the folklore, as the basis for the Romantic national revival of the early nineteenth century. Not only the Ukrainian elite themselves, but also their non-Ukrainian contemporaries saw the inhabitants of *Ukrajina* or of *Malorossija* as linguistically, culturally…distinct from their Polish, Lithuanian, and Muscovite neighbors…[84]

Thus, in 19th century Ukraine, a rise in interest towards the cultural past of the Ukrainian people affected members of various groups of Ukrainian society. This cultural and national movement served as a powerful tool for constructing the modern Ukrainian identity. The "Cossack topic," with its emphasis on the Cossacks' rights and liberties played an important role in this process. According to Serhii Plokhy, something very similar to this 19th century process took place a century later— "the return of the Cossack myth occurred during the last years of Soviet rule in Ukraine and proved significant for the revival of the suppressed Ukrainian identity on the eve of the disintegration of the USSR."[85] Today, the "Cossack theme" continues to play an extremely important role in scholarship and popular culture of a newly independent Ukraine.

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[83] Ihor Ševčenko, *Ukraine Between East and West. Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century* (Edmonton; Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies P, 1996), p. 194.

[85] Serhii Plokhy, "The Ghosts of Pereyaslav: Russo-Ukrainian Historical Debates in the Post-Soviet Era," *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 53 (№ 3): 489-505 (on page 491).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Origin of the Cossacks

-1-

The Cossacks emerged from the people, who were sent as tribute to the enemy, but defied the ruler and began to live in free assembly

Якийсь-то був російський цар, що стояв під страхом в чужоземця...Це давня давнина...Так ото наш цар тому неприятелеві і платив подать людьми; було, займе, як отару овець, та й жене. Хто, було, піде до неприятеля, то вже не вернеться: поминай, як звали. От раз наш цар послав тому супостатові людей найбільш відбірних. Вийшли вони в степ, порадилися і кажуть: чого ми підемо до проклятого кимлика-мухамеда? На заріз? Є між нами ковалі, шевці, ткачі, гончарі, шаповали, є знахарі, характерники; давайте тут жить.

На наступний рік, знову найшло людей, на третій знову, — стало ціле військо. От супостатський цар і пише нашому: "Чому ти, каже, людей не даєш?" Наш і відповідає: "Посилаю тобі, щороку"... Багато років минуло, поперемінялися і царі в землях, а люди все намножаються і намножаються у дикім степу. Став неприятель докучати їм набігами, і давай вони біля нього ворожити. Скільки не пішле війська, вони все перерубають...Характерники були великі! ...Стала ходити чутка, що живуть десь запорожці— таке військо, що й не приступиш. Орудував ними кошовий-характерник.

Земля тоді була дикою, кишів звір, гад та птиця.

Жили так запорожці, поки одвоювали у турка землю: од Орілі та до моря шириною, од Бога-річки та до "Горілого пня" довжиною. Горілий пень був під Донщиною за Савур-могилою. Там могила, а біля неї ріс дуб і такий товстючий, що насилу, було, п'ять чоловік обхопить. Як всох той дуб, його обпалили, і довго чорнів він в степу— його видно було за сорок верст. Як сплюндрували Запорожжя, то біля того горілого дуба жив якийсь гайдамацький ватажок, а на Савур-могилі інший— Сава; ото він як захоче до себе викликати Саву в гості, то почепить на дуба копицю сіна, дîжде ночі і підпалить. Побачить Сава вогонь— на коня і скаче.

//Тепер нема запорожців: під турка пійшли...Стали вороги докучати цариці, що буцім то запорожці шкоду роблять; вона зібрала військо і пішла на них. Зійшлись москалі, зійшлись і запорожці. Москалі стріляють, а запорожці поли підставляють...Понабирали повні заполи куль та й пішли до цариці. "Великий світ, матусю! На тобі оці заряди, вони може згодяться." Вона здивувалась та й каже: "Йдіть до мене, я вас пригощу." Зібралися запорожці до неї, а вона й питає: "Як ви живете, ялове запорозьке військо, без жон?” Живемо, — кажуть, так: сорочку поки вс...— поти обідрав, бо нікому прасти... Пригостила вона запорожців і пішла в їхній стан. Дивиться — хто чоботи кварцює дьогтем, хто..., хто кашу варить, хто нужу б’є, а інший вуса крутить... “Що ж це у вас таке не строєве військо?” — питає цариця кошового. “Так як, — каже, — матусю, замирення; нема проти [кого] шикуватися.”

Стали запорожців притісняти, став Потьомка населяти слободи, садовити німців...Взяли вони і подалися: які за Кубань, які в Туреччину... Прийшли, а паша й каже: “Тоді я вас прийму, як заприсягнете вірно служити в моїй землі.” “Добре, — кажуть, — згодні...” Стали збирати їх під присягу, а в них у кожного в торбині була християнська земля: вони понасипали в чоботи землі, підійшли під присягу і кажуть: “На чиїй землі стоїмо, тому цареві будемо служити!” Так вони і робили: було, в Туреччині живуть, а поміч подають своїм хрещеним.

Дід Дмитро Степ. Биковський, 87 р., м. Нікополь,
Катеринославського повіту, 12 червня 1894 р.

(Translation)

There was some kind of Russian Tsar, who was threatened by a foreign ruler… That was a long, long time ago… So, that Tsar of ours paid tribute to that adversary with people; it was like that, he had people surrounded as a herd of sheep, and chased [them to the enemy]. If somebody went to that enemy, then that person would surely never return: forget about him. Once, our Tsar dispatched the most distinguished people to that enemy. They would wander into the steppe, had a council and said: “why are we to go to the cursed seed of Mohamed? To be slaughtered? There are blacksmiths, tailors, weavers, potters, wool-carders among us, there are medicine men, *kharakternyky*[*] among us as well; let’s live here.”

Next year more people came, on the third year yet more came, — and an entire army emerged. At last, the enemy Tsar is writing to ours: “Why, — he says, — you are not sending to me your people as tribute?” Ours replies: “I am sending to you people every year”… Many years have passed. New tsars began to reign in those lands, and more and more people came to live in the wild steppe. The enemies began to bother them with raids, and those people began to use sorcery on those enemies. Regardless of how many troops were dispatched by the enemy, those people would wipe out all of them… They were great *kharakternyky*! … The rumors spread that somewhere lived Zaporozhians— an army that could not be overwhelmed. They were led by a Chieftain, who himself was *kharakternyk*.

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[*] Here and on italics is mine.

Back then the land was unattended, abundant in beasts, serpents and birds.

Zaporozhians had been living over there before they reclaimed the following lands from the Turks: from the river of Oril down to the sea in width, and from the river of Boh to the "Burnt Trunk" in length. The "Burnt Trunk" was near the lands close to the river of Don and beyond the "Tomb [hill] of Savur." That was a tomb [hill], and nearby there grew an oak tree so thick that five men, joining their hands around it, could hardly encircle that tree. As soon as that oak tree dried out, it was burned, and it stood there blackened as it was in the middle of the steppe, and it could be seen from the distance of forty miles. When the Cossack Host of Zaporizhzhia was ravaged, some anonymous brigand leader lived near that burnt trunk, and yet another one, — named Sava —, lived on the Tomb of Savur; so if the first mentioned brigand leader wanted to invite Sava, then he would put a stack of hay on that oak, waited till night fell, and then set that hay aflame. As soon as Sava saw the fire — he [would jump on] his horse and takes off.

There are no Zaporozhians here any longer: they went under Turkish protection… When the enemies of the Cossacks began to pester the Tsarina, saying that the Zaporozhians were supposedly involved in causing damage, she assembled her troops and marched against the Cossacks. Russians and Zaporozhians approached each other on the battlefield. The Russians went on shooting and the Cossacks were catching the flying bullets with their garments… They filled those garments with bullets and went to see the Tsarina. "Goodness gracious mother! Here are some bullets for which you might find some use sometimes." She was amazed and went on saying: "Come with me for I'll give you a treat." So, the Cossacks came to her and she asked them as follows: "How are you managing to live on, you, barren Zaporozhian Host, without women?" "Well, — they were saying —, we live like that: We wear a shirt till it is covered with s… — then we wait till it falls apart [in sweat] for there is no one who can do laundry for us…" She treated the Cossacks with the feast and went to see their encampment. And saw the following: some Cossacks were covering boots with tar, some…, some were cooking porridge, catching lice, or twisting their moustache… "How come you have such an irregular crowd instead of a proper regular army?" — the Tsarina went on asking the Cossack Chieftain. "Why, mom, — he said —, there is no need for battle order, because we are at peace."

Soon the Cossacks found themselves under pressure from the government, Prince Potemkin began to establish settlements on the Cossack lands, inviting Germans settlers there… So, the Cossacks left: some went beyond the river of Kuban, some went to Turkey… They came to Turkey and a Turkish official told him: "I am willing to accept your services no sooner than you swear to serve faithfully in my land." "Very well," — they replied —, "we are content with that." When they were being brought to take the oath, each of the Cossacks had a handful of earth from the Christian land:

they put it inside their boots and went to submit the oath, required from them, saying: “The Tsar of the land we are standing on has us on his service!” That was how they did it: living in Turkey they were giving help to the Christians from among their own people.

[Informant]: Old man Dmytro, son of Stephan, Bykovsky, age 87, town of Nikopol, Katerynoslav county, recorded on June 12, 1894

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [Cossacks in folk memory] (Zaporizhzhia: Interbook, 1991), pp. 87-88.

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The Cossacks emerged from the people, who were sent as tribute to the enemy, but defied the ruler and began to live in free assembly

—“Откуда-же, запорожцы взялись?” — спрашиваю Андрея...

—Найшли видовсюды.

—Чого, як?

—...Якийсь-то був руський царъ, що стоявъ пидъ страхомъ у чужоземця. Це давня давнына... Такъ-отъ нашъ царъ тому неприятелеви и платыть подать людьмы...Отъ разъ нашъ царъ пославъ супостатови людей самыхъ отбираныхъ. Выйшлы воны въ степъ, порадились і кажуть: “Чого мы пидемо до проклятого кымлыка-мухамеда?”...Е мижъ намы ковали, шевци, ткачи, ганчари...Давайте тутъ жыты. Подались воны въ байракы, кущи, повыкопувалы землянкы и жывуть.

—Ну а царъ?

—А що жъ царъ? Пославъ, тай байдуже... На другый годъ опять прийшло людей, на третий...

—А хто-жъ, диду, бувъ за старшого въ ныхъ?

—Кошовый! Вийсько выбере характерныка, винъ и орудуе.

—А земля чия-жъ була?

—Ничыя. Дыка... Була колысь такы нашого царя, а потимъ туркы чы татары завоювалы.

—И довго, диду, жылы тутъ запорожци?

—Покы одвоювалы у турка землю. Одвоювалы геть одъ Орели до моря ширшого, і одъ Бога-рикы до “Горилого пня” довжыною...

—А якъ сплюндрувалы Запорожя и колы то було?

—А це вже за Катерыны— царыця така була. Сталы, бачте, ворогы докучаты царыци, що буцымъ-то запорожци шкоду роблять, вона зибрала вийсько и послала на ныхъ.

— Запорожци прыйшлы до царыци и ничого з нымы не моглы зробыты, ажъ покы Потьомкын почавъ заселяты слободы нимцямы, то козакы пишлы пид турка або на Кубань.

Записано Яковом Новицьким від діда Андрія,
село Вільшанське Катеринославської губернії
у 1875 році

(Translation)

—"Where did Zaporozhians come from?" — I am asking Andrei…

—They came here from everywhere.

—Why and how did it happen?

—…Once upon a time there was a Russian Tsar, who was threatened by a foreign ruler… That happened a long, long time ago… So, that Tsar of ours paid tribute to that enemy with his people… Once upon a time our Tsar dispatched the most distinguished people to that enemy. They went into the steppe, had a council and said: "Why are we to go to the cursed seed of Mohamed? …There are blacksmiths, tailors, weavers, and potters among us… Let's live here." They went to the woods, bushes, dug the earth houses and went on living there.

—So and what about the Tsar?

—Well, what about the Tsar, you are inquiring? He sent the people and did not care for them afterwards… More people came to the first party next year and yet more in the third one…

—And who was their leader, old man?

—A Chieftain! The Host used to elect *kharakternyk* a Chieftain. So, he was in charge.

—And to whom did that land belong?

—It belonged to nobody. It was wild… It had belonged to our Tsar until the Turks or the Tatars reclaimed it.

—And how long did Zaporozhians live here, old man?

—They lived here until they reclaimed this land from the Turks. They reclaimed it from the river of Oril down to the sea wide, and from the river of Boh till the "Burnt Trunk" in length…

—And how was Zaporozhia sacked and when did this happen?

—And that happened during the reign of Kateryna— there used to be Tsarina by that name. You see the enemies began to complain to the Tsarina that the Zaporozhians supposedly committed various offenses — she assembled the army and sent it against them.

—The Zaporozhians came to the Tsarina and nothing could be done with them, and that situation lasted until Prince Potemkin began to populate the villages with Germans, then the Cossacks submitted themselves under the Turkish protectorate or went to the Kuban [region].

[Informant]: old man Andrii in the village of
Vilshanskie, Katerynoslav guberniia, 1875

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky

Published: Iakov Novitskii, “Iz narodnykh predanii o zaporozhtsakh” [From the folk tales about Zaporozhian Cossacks], *Kievskaia starina* (*KS*) 10 (1885): 350-353.

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The Cossacks emerged from the people, who were sent as tribute to the enemy, but defied the ruler and began to live in free assembly; led by a young lad — kharakternyk

Запорозьци

Запорозьци — такъ воны не таки люде, шо стало быть чы королекъ, чы що, а воны ось яки люды. У нашого царя та // трошкы людей було, а въ Турка багато. Такъ Турокъ и насида: "давай мини по десять чоловика въ мисяць, а якъ не будешъ давать, такъ отберу все." — "Ну, чы давать, то й давать. Вже-жъ я съ тобою ничого не здѣлаю." Ото й отсыла десять чоловика у мисяць. Мисяць выйшовъ— упъять десять. Ото вже два раза пишлы, а хто его зна ден винъ дива; чы воны тамъ у его жывуть де, чы винъ ихъ ще запровторыть... Ну, й въ третій мисяць ото збырають. "И тоби, Грыцьку, йты и тоби Хомо"... А въ одного хлопець шиснадцяты литъ. "Оце жъ ты, сыну, дома зоставайся, та годуй уже и матиръ и дитей." —"Э-э, тату! Якъ мини зоставаться вашихъ дитей годувать, а я ше малолитный, — зоставайтеся-жъ вы, то вы вже й годуйте." —"Такъ ты-жъ малый!" —"Та дарма шо малый." Ну, отъ пишлы воны. Идуть та идуть... Увійшли воны у Турецьку землю. Той хлопець и говорить: "Дядьки !" —"Чого!" —"Чы мы не дурни, шо мы такы йдемъ сами?! Ось слухайте мене, ось захожуйтеся, батареи копайте. Хоть же не велыки на десять чоловика, а хто прибуде, то рой соби, побыля насъ." И жывуть. Отъ то ще йде десять чоловика. Уже четвертый мисяць... "Куды вы йдете? Зоставайтесь тутъ." Оставывъ и тыхъ. На пъятый мисяць упъять идутъ десять. Винъ и тыхъ не пустывъ — завернувъ. Ото вже въ его тридцять чоловика. О ото скилькы не йшло!... То вже винъ дывывсь-дывывсь, що багато йде, та давай до царя пысать: "Царю! Не давай," каже, "Царю! А то винъ уже всихъ забере!" (Туркови не давай.) А Турокъ пыше: "Чомъ ты не даешъ? Розорю!... И Росѣю твою розорю!...Чомъ ты не прысылаешъ?!" А цей одпысуе, шо "я пославъ отъ исъ такого-то мисяця жаденъ мисяць!" —"Ну такъ воны десь е!" Та ото и сыхъ завертавъ (хлопець), та ото и збоку прыбигалы, — такъ уже то одынъ, то два. И назбыравъ винъ сорокъ тысячъ! Хлопець той назбыравъ. Винъ лыцарь бувъ, та то его нихто не знавъ. "Ну, шо жъ, хлопци!? Теперъ мы въ чужій земли жывемъ и намъ хто его зна за кого заступаться! Чы за Турка, чы за Россійського царя. На Россійського Царя намъ не йты! Тамъ наши дядькы, тамъ наши батькы, такъ намъ буде грихъ, якъ мы будемъ на Билого царя йты..." (Пропуск.) Турокъ тоди: "эге! Якъ ты такый, такъ я тебе роззорю зъ кориньнямъ, шобъ ты у моій земли не бувъ!"

Собралыся иты его воювать. Прыйшовъ... Онъ-де йдуть, — онъ-де и винъ жыве... Нельзя йты: гора, — така гора, шо бида!! Воны ходылы, ходылы, тай вернулись.//

Турок розсердывся! Какъ такы не можно?! Шо це вы дѣлаете?! Другымъ порядкомъ другыхъ нарядывъ.

...Ричка... Така здорова — така здорова, що такъ вода и блыщыть!!...

Третій разъ пославъ... Лисъ...терны... Самый лисъ!!...

“..Ну, що-жъ намъ робыть теперъ?! Та мы его й не возьмемъ. А возьмемъ мы сорокъ бочокъ горилкы! Издѣлаемъ балъ. И воны понапиваються, такъ мы ихъ тоди пьяныхъ...” Кличе Кошового въ госьти. Винъ и пыта хлопцивъ: “Хлопци! Шо мы будемъ казать? Турокъ кличе насъ въ госьти отсюда й недалеко.” “Та вы знаете. Якъ прыкажете. Чы йихать, то йихать.” “Такъ винъ хоче насъ погубить?!” Воны его называють: “Паноче! Тамъ то вже вы знаете.” “Ну, та пойидьмо.” Тоди пойихалы туды до его въ госьти. И выйихавъ. Горилки напылысь... Яку забралы до-дому...винъ и не бачивъ (турокъ). Тоди вьзявъ ричку напустывъ посередыни. Ци зъ сьего боку запорозьци, а ти съ того боку... Пропало дило ихъ шо й напувавъ!!

“Шо якъ такы ты думаешъ?! Шо ты въ моій землы жывешъ, а мини помочи ніякои?! Такъ прыбудь до мене побалакаемъ ще.”

Отто вже винъ пойихавъ!!... “А пидить мини, хлопци, за межу, росьсійськои земли наберить зо прыгирщъ.” Пишовъ одынъ тамъ, прынисъ. Винъ узявъ та роззувся та въ чоботы понасыпавъ потроху. Та тоди й убувсь. “Ну, оце-жъ теперъ, хлопци, пойидемо.” Теперъ уже йидуть за нымъ, уже й верхамы и винъ йиде. Турокъ и говорить: “якужъ ты мини дань будешъ давать, шо ты въ моій земли жывешъ? Чы ты за мене стоятымешъ, чы за Россѣйського?” —“Начіи земли стою, за того й стоятиму.” А вы-бъ подумалы: шо на моій-же земли винъ стоить, за мене буде й стояты. А въ его въ чоботах— Росьсѣйська?!!... “Ну, нехай-же хоть твои хлопци до мене на часъ йизьдять. Двадьцять пьять чоловика жадьни суткы.” —“Ну, й нехай! Зъ усымъ прыдовольствіямъ!! Двадьцять пьять рублывъ у суткы жадьни даватымешъ.”

Костянтин Коваленко, село Мартинівка, Костянтиноградський повіт Полтавської губернії, 1886 рік

(Translation)

Zaporozhians

The Zaporozhians— they were not the usual kind of people, [unremarkable] birds [or something], but they were people like I am telling you. Our Tsar had a few people, and the Turks had many. So, the Turks put pressure on the Tsar saying: "Send to me ten men each month, or else I shall take everything by force." —"Well, if I have to give you what you want then I shall do this for I cannot resist you." So, the Tsar began to dispatch ten men every month. As soon as one month was over— he sent ten more men. Two parties had left, but who knows where they went; maybe they were living under the Turks or maybe they were living elsewhere… So, on the third month another group was being assembled: "You, Hryts, must go; and you, Khomo, must go too …" And one of those men had a son, sixteen years old. "So, my son, you are staying home, and you have to take care of your mother and the children." —"No dad, I am not! How can I stay and feed your children for I am not a grown up person, who is up to the task, — better you stay behind and feed them yourself and I shall go in your stead." —"But how do you go to captivity if you are a youngster still." —"So what, I shall manage." So they went. And they were going and going… They entered the Turkish land. That boy said to his compatriots: "Look, men!" —"What is up?" —They replied. — "Are we not stupid that we are going to captivity on our free will?! Listen to me, get here and start digging the fortifications. Built them not so big, enough to fit ten people or so, and those, who will come later, are going to dig their own fortifications nearby." So, they were living like that. Ten more people came. The fourth month has passed… and it all went like that: "Where are you going? Better stay here with us." That boy made them to stay. On the fifth month ten more people were going to captivity. The boy persuaded them to stay as well. He had already assembled thirty men. Oh, and many more were coming! …So, he was observing this and wrote to the Tsar: "O Tsar! Do not send people to the enemy or they will take all of your people!" And the Turks were writing to the Tsar: "Why are you not sending the tribute? We shall ruin your country punishing you for disobedience! …And I shall desolate your Russia! ...Why are you not sending tribute to me?!" And the Tsar is replying that "I have been sending to you people starting from that very month and every month since then!" —"Well, where are they, then!?" That boy was persuading people to stay, and the people were also coming from other places— one from here, two from there. Until there were forty thousand of them! The boy had achieved this all by himself. He was a knight, but nobody knew about that fact. "So lads, now we are living at the foreign land and we have to decide to whom we shall serve! The choice is that we serve either to the Turks or to the Russian Tsar. We cannot fight against the Russian Tsar! Our uncles, our fathers live there, and we would sin were we to attack the White Tsar…" (The next fragment is missing.) Upon knowing about this deliberation Turks said: "So, that is your decision. If this is your choice indeed, then we shall vanquish and uproot you so that our land will be free from your presence!"

So, the Turks were coming in force to attack the boy and his army. They came at last… The Turks were here, and the boy lived there… But the Turks could not reach him: a tall mountain stood in their way!! They went around it several times and were forced to retreat.

The leader of the Turks got angry! How could that be?! What was going on?! So, he dispatched other troops.

…The river stood in their way this time… So wide— so wide, that the water glowed, like silver!! ...

He sent troops the third time… Woods… thorns… Nothing, but woods!! ...

"…So, what else could be done?! It is impossible to capture the Cossacks and their leader. Let's, then, take forty barrels of vodka! Let's set a ball! And when the Cossacks get drunk then we shall…those drunkards." So, the leader of the Turks invited the Cossack Chieftain to pay him a visit. Chieftain is asking his lads: "Lads! What are we going to reply? The Turks are inviting us to pay them a visit; it is not far from here." "Well, you know better. By you command. We can either go or not go." "So, is he going to destroy us?!" The Cossacks are saying: "Master! You know what should be done to avert this danger." "So be it." They went to pay the Turks a visit. They arrived. Got drunk with vodka… Even took some to their encampment… they (the Turks) did not even notice… Then the Chieftain made the river appear right in the middle. Zaporozhians left on this side, and the Turks on the opposite side… The Turkish plot was ruined vodka notwithstanding!!

"So, what do you think you are doing?! Living in my land without serving me in any way?! Come to me again and we shall discuss this."

So, the Cossack Chieftain went to a meeting with a Turkish leader!!… "Go, you lads, beyond the border and bring a fist full of Russian land to me." One Cossack went and brought some. Chieftain took off his boots and poured some land inside them. Then he put his boots on. "Well, now let's go, lads." The Chieftain is going mounted and the mounted Cossacks are going after him. The Turkish leader is saying: "what tribute, then, are you willing to pay for living on my land? Are you going to be on my side, or on the side of the Russian Tsar?" —"On whose land I am standing, to him then shall I serve." Turk thought that the Chieftain was standing on his land, thus, promised to serve the Turks. But the Chieftain had Russian land in his boots?!! ..."Well, let your lads come to my service for some time. Send twenty-five men each day." "Why not?! You will supply them with everything needed. You will be paying them twenty-five rubles every day," — the Cossack Chieftain responded.

[Informant]: Kostiantyn Kovalenko, village of Martynivka, Kostiantynohrad county of Poltava guberniia, 1886

Reference: collected by Porfyrii Martynovych.
Published: Porfyrii Martynovych, *Ukrains'ky zapysy* [Ukrainian records] (Kiev: Typ. Imperatorskago universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1906), pp. 257-259.

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The Cossacks emerged from the people, who were sent as tribute to the enemy, but defied the ruler and began to live in free assembly (fragment)

Була царыця велыка и сама вона царювала. Тилькы супостатъ находе, богатырь, що: "подай на войну— выходы!" А вона не смие— бойиться. "Ну, якъ ты не смиешъ выходыты, такъ дай мени двадцять чоловикъ солдатъ (въ полонъ)." Вона зрадила и заразъ послала: йдить, каже, оттуды й туды! Воны пишлы. Ну, послани, есть воны тамъ — царыця думае. Пишлы, не дийшлы до його... Ократылыся соби, кошомъ сталы. Каже, "чого мы до його пидемо: нехай винъ (ворогъ) насъ шука." "Прожылы соби годъ въ степу, такъ— бурлакамы дило: де вивцю вкрадуть, де корову пиймають. На другый годъ требуетъ опять полководець: "вставай, йды, а то я на тебе йду. Чому ты мени не послала двадцять чоловикъ." А вона каже: "именно, послала." Потимъ сорокъ чоловикъ требуе... Воны й осталыся. І стало ихъ шістдесятъ чоловікъ. На третий годъ...шістдесятъ чоловикъ послала... І вже вони прыпасы зробылы, и орудия и все. И стало ихъ 120. И сталы воны запорожци...

Переказ записано Г. Стрижевським у 1870-х роках
в Полтаві від 70-ти річного Павла Кислого

(Translation)

There used to be a great Tsarina, who ruled without a consort. Wherever an enemy knight approached: "Come to battle!" And she does not dare— because she is afraid. "Well, if you do not dare to face me in battle, then give me your twenty soldiers in the captivity." She rejoiced and dispatched soldiers right away: saying, go there and there! So, they went [to the captivity]. Well, the people have been sent, so they must be there by now — is what Tsarina is thinking. People went, but did not make it [to captivity]… They entrenched and formed an encampment. Saying, "why should we to go to him: let him (the enemy) looking for us." They spent an entire year in the steppe— like vagabonds: they would steal a sheep here and a cow over there. On the second year the enemy general submits another demand: "Come and face me on the battlefield. Why did you not send twenty men as tribute to me?" And she replies: "but I did send them to you." Then the enemy demands forty men... They also stayed [on the steppe]. Their number has increased up to sixty men. On the third year…she sent sixty men… And those men gathered supplies and arms and everything needed.

And there were one hundred and twenty of them. And they became Zaporozhians…

[Informant]: Pavlo Kysly, age 70, Poltava, 1870s

Reference: collected by H. Stryzhevsky
Published: Petr Efimenko, “Otkuda vzialis’ zaporozhtsy (narodnoe predanie)” [Where did Zaporozhian Cossacks come from (folk narrative)], *KS* 12 (1882): 582-593.

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The initial name, under which the Cossacks had been known; their origin

Запорозці перше звались Козари и сиділи въ Каневі, потімъ въ Романкові, потімъ у Старому Кодаку, а далі нижче Никополя. Служило іхъ три у короля. Король заплативъ двомъ жалованнє, а третему сказавъ: "Отъ же я двомъ заплативъ грішми, а ти, коли хоч, иди въ Каневъ, осади собі тамъ слободу." Отъ він пішовъ та й завівъ тамъ Січъ.

Записав П. Куліш від старого
чоловіка у місті Корсунь

(Translation)

The Zaporozhian Cossacks first were known as *Khozary* and they lived in Kaniv, then in Romankiv, then in Old Kodak, and later on they lived below Nikopol. There were three of them at the king's service. The king paid two of them for their services with money, and told to the third one: "So, I have paid to two of you with money, and you, if you want, go to Kaniv and establish a settlement over there." So, the third one went and established the Sich (the Cossack encampment — *R. S.*) over there.

[Informant]: an "old man" in the town
of Korsun

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St. - Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 150.

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The initial name, under which the Cossacks had been known; their origins (fragment)

Когда именно и съ какихъ временъ Запорожье воспріяло свое начало: о томъ достовѣрно утвердить немогу, но когда мои предки зашли на жительство въ сію украйну, то въ тѣ поры оное уже существовало и по устному ихъ преданію чрезъ прадѣда, дѣда и отца моего дошло и до меня свѣденіе, что оные Запорожцы въ древніе времена назывались Козарами. Поелику ихъ главное жительство было надъ Днѣпромъ пониже пороговъ, то и названы уже послѣ того чрезъ Гетмана Хмельницкаго, Запорожцами, и хотя они жили подъ державою Россійскою во времена блаженной памяти ПЕТРА ВЕЛИКАГО, но относились всѣми дѣлами своими до Хмельницкаго, а Россія до распоряженій ихъ, дѣла никакого не имѣла; Хмельницкій же Гетманъ имѣлъ тогда свое представительство въ Гетманщинѣ и командовалъ всѣми Гетманскими полками, состоявшими изъ Малороссійскихъ козаковъ, вмѣсто бывшаго измѣнщика Гетмана Мазепы. Земля Запорожская распространялась по обѣим сторонамъ Днѣпра, граничила она съ юго-западной стороны вверхъ по Днѣпру, отъ рѣки Буга, по рѣку Случь, смѣжно съ Польскою границею, а въ низъ по Днѣпру простиралась до великаго Лимана, гдѣ нынѣ Херсонъ и Николаевъ, съ сѣверно-восточной-же стороны тоже вверхъ по Днѣпру простиралась она до рѣки Орѣли, которая впала въ Днѣпръ, около мѣстечка Китай-города; за Орелью-же начиналась граница Гетманская, а въ низъ простиралась она по рѣку Кон противу бывшей Сѣчи и граничила съ Донскими Козаками и Крымскими Ногайцами.

Сѣчь, по всей Запорожской землѣ была тогда за моей памяти только одна; въ ней было главное Запорожское правительство подобно какъ въ Столицѣ. Она имѣла непремѣнное свое пребываніе надъ рѣчкой Подпольною, недалече отъ Днѣпра, которая Подпольная и впала въ Днѣпръ...

Записано Архиєпископом Гавриїлом (Розановим) зі слів колишнього запорозького козака Микити Леонтійовича Коржа

(Translation)

I cannot positively establish when exactly and from what time the Zaporozhian Host came into being. However, when my ancestors came down to live on this borderland it had already existed over there and according to an oral account, passed from my great-grandfather, grandfather and father, I was informed that the mentioned Zaporozhian Cossacks in the times of old were known as *Khozary*. Because their main residence was located over Dnipro river and beyond the rapids, they were later called "those, who live beyond the rapids" (Zaporozhians) during the time of Hetman Khmelnytsky. Even though they lived under the rule of Russian state during the times of the late PETER the GREAT, they fell under the authority of Khmelnytsky, and Russia had nothing to do with them. At that time Khmelnytsky, the Hetman, had his government at the Hetmanate and led all of the Hetman regiments, which consisted of all Little Rus' Cossack regiments, instead of the former traitor Hetman Mazepa. Zaporozhian lands stretched along both sides of river Dnipro, from the Southeast and up of Dnipro's flow, from the river Buh down to the river of Sluch, had a boundary with Poland, and down of Dnipro's flow stretched towards the great Estuary, where now the cities of Kherson and Mykolaiv have been built; from the Northwest and up to the river Dnipro it stretched up to the river of Oril, which entered Dnipro near Kytai-horod; beyond Oril began the border of Hetmanate, and down it went along the river of Kon opposite to the location of the former Sich and formed the border with the Cossacks of Don and Crimean Nohais (Tatars — *R. S.*).

As far as I remember there was only one Sich in the lands of Zaporozhian Cossacks; like Capital (St.-Petersburg) it contained the central Cossack government. It was situated close to the Dnipro on the river Pidpilna, which served as tributary to Dnipro…

[Informant]: the former Cossack Mykyta, son of Leontii, Korzh

Reference: collected by Archbishop Gabriel (Rozanov)
Published: *Ustnoe povestvovanie byvshago zaporozhtsa, zhitelia Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii i uezda, seleniia Mikhailovki, Nikity Leontievicha Korzha* [Oral account of the former Cossack Mykyta Korzh] (Odessa: V Gorodskoi tipografii, 1842), p. 10.

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The initial name, under which the Cossacks were known

Киї— початкова назва запорожців

Мій дядько Матвій помер 110-ти років у п'ятдесят другому році (1852). Розповідав, що спершу запорожці звалися киями, і не тут жили, а десь у лісах, під Києвом. Киями звалися від того, що ходили на розбій з кийками. Якийсь, кажуть, князь Амлин чи що, став забирати їх в своє військо і сказав: "Як поможете мені перемогти турка— дам вам степи, балки, байраки і весь низ Дніпра: будете жити вільно." Зібралися вони всі, скільки було, і звоювали турка. Амлин тоді дав їм Дніпро і степ нижче порогів, і стали вони запорожцями. Було в них сорок куренів і сорок тисяч війська, та Катерина зігнала і віддала землю німцям... Амлин той, як давав землю, то казав: "Буде вона ваша, поки світ сонця," а Катерина вже на те казала: "Дайте, каже, бомагу, що це ваша земля." Вони туди-сюди— немає. Як стало військо проти запорожців, а характерники вийшли. "Ну, — кажуть, — здаватися не будемо, бийте!" Москалі за рушниці, цілять їх, а рушниці — клац, клац, клац! — і не палять. Глянули, аж порох мокрий... "Ну, — кажуть, вас, мабуть, і чортяка не звоює." Характерники зовсім не хотіли здаватися Катерині, та військо сказало: "Ні, браття, у нас є батьки і діти: москаль їх виріже." Взяли та й здалися.

Осип Леонт. Шуть, 70 років, рибалка
на острові Хортиця, 14 вересня
1888 року

(Translation)

"Kyyi" as the primordial name of the Cossacks

My uncle Matvii died at the age of 110 (in 1852). He used to tell me, that from the outset, Zaporozhians had been known as *Kyyi* and did not live here, but somewhere in the woods near Kyiv. They were called *Kyyi* because they committed the acts of brigandry being armed with wooden poles (*kyi*). People tell that some Prince Amlin, or something, began to call them to join his army and told them: "If you assist me in overcoming the Turks— then I shall give you the steppes, ravines and woods and the entire land in the low flowing of the Dnipro: you will live as free men over there." So, they assembled everybody they could and overwhelmed the Turks on the battlefield. Upon this victory Amlin gave them the Dnipro and the steppe

below the rapids and they became known as the Zaporozhians. They had forty regiments and a forty thousand-strong army, but Tsarina Kateryna chased them away and gave their lands to the Germans… When Amlin had been giving them the land he told the Cossacks as follows: "This land will be yours as long as the sun shines" and Tsarina Kateryna responded to the Cossacks when they brought up this argument: "Show me the document, which proves that this land is yours." They tried to find one, but to no avail. When the Russian army faced the Zaporozhians, *kharakternyky* came forward. "Well, — they were saying, — shoot us for we are not giving up!" The Russians lifted the guns, aimed them at the Cossacks, and the guns — clank, clank, clank! — all of them misfired. Russian soldiers checked them, and saw that the gunpowder was wet… "Well, — they were saying, even the devil will probably fail to overwhelm you, Cossacks." The *kharakternyky* intended to continue resisting the Kateryna's army, but the rest of the Host said: "Give up, brothers, because we have parents and children: Russians will slaughter them if you do not give up." So they gave up.

[Informant]: Osyp, son of Leontii, Shut', age 70, a fisherman on the island of Khortytsia, recorded on September 14, 1888

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky.
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [Cossacks in folk memory] (Zaporizhzhia: Interbook, 1991), pp. 89-90.

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The initial name, under which the Cossacks were known

Запорожців спочатку було всього шістнадцять чоловік і звалися вони Чорногорами. Спочатку жили вони десь вище порогів у лісі, а повз той ліс йшов битий шлях. Дізнався якийсь цар, що по тім шляху великий розбій, і послав військо. Через скільки там днів дійшло військо до того лісу і сунуло прямо в хащу... Іде воно, іде та й іде, коли чує — як затріщить, як залущить... Глянуло воно, аж на дубах курені, а звідтіля виглядають Чорногори. Генерал до них:

—Що ви за люди?

—Чорногори!

—Злазьте ж з дубів!

—А що ж вам від нас треба?

—Треба, щоб ви здалися— от що!

—Знаєте, що, люди добрі, — каже кошовий, — ми такі хрещені, як і ви, відбиватися не будемо, а краще ідіть собі з Богом відкіля прийшли!

Генерал той як крикне: пали! Стали вони палити, та не по Чорногорах, а самі по собі, і вилягли, як снопи...

З'явився сам цар і викликав трьох чоловік. Прийшли. Він за пістоль та до них... аж воно не те, руки й одібрало. Смикався, смикався, та тоді і просить: "Ой, братці, не пустуйте!" "Добре," — кажуть, — "дай же нам вперед бомагу, щоб була нам земля обмежована і щоб, хто за межу перескочить, той і наш!" Цар обіцяв і став володіти руками. Віддав їм бомагу і намітив межу за сто верст вище порогів і за сто верст нижче порогів. Як сіли вони кошем на порогах, народ так і сунув до них. Тоді вже земля назвалася козацькою, а люди— запорожцями.

Отак я чув змолоду від старих людей. Тепер покоління запорожців, що кинуло Січ за Катерини, живе, кажуть, під турком на Чорних горах, і козаки знову звуться Чорногорами.

Дід Дмитро Степ. Биковський, 87 р.,
м. Нікополь, Катеринославського
повіту, 12 червня 1894 року

(Translation)

From the beginning there were only sixteen of Zaporozhians and they were called *Chornohory* (the people from the Black Mountain — *R. S.*). Back then they used to live some place above the rapids, in the woods, through which a busy road had been laid. Once upon a time a Tsar received a

report that that road was raided by brigands and dispatched the troops to put an end to brigandry. In days the army reached that wood and marched straight to its heart… It was marching and marching and suddenly heard the knocking and rustling… The servicemen with the detail looked up and they saw the huts on the oak-trees, and *Chornohory*, who were looking down at them. General spoke to them asking:

—What sort of people are you?

— We are *Chornohory*!

—Get down from those oak-trees!

—And what do you want from us?

—We demand your surrender, that's what!

—You know what, dear fellows, — the Chieftain went on, — we are baptized in the same faith as you are, so, we are unwilling to fight against you, and you better go with the name of the Lord to the place you have come from!

General shouted to the soldiers: shoot them! They began shooting, somehow missing *Chornohory* and shooting at each other, and all ended up fallen like sheaves…

The Tsar had to come there in person and called three of the *Chornohory*. They came. He aimed a pistol at them…but something happened and he lost the command of his arms. The Tsar grabbed and twisted, and then begged: "Oh, brothers, stop harassing me!" "Very well," — they replied, — "we shall lift the spell, but for this you will give us the document, which proves the boundaries of our land and guarantees that everybody, who enters it falls under our jurisdiction!" The Tsar promised to meet the conditions and at once regained the command of his limbs. He gave the requested document to the Cossacks, which defined the boundaries of the Cossack land as one hundred miles above and one hundred miles below the rapids. When they established the Host on those rapids, many people began to come and join them. That was precisely when the land became known as the Cossack land and people, who lived there became known as Zaporozhians.

I heard this story from the old people when I myself was young. I have also heard that those of Zaporozhians, who left Sich during the reign of Kateryna, live under the Turkish jurisdiction on the Black Mountain and again as ages ago are called *Chornohory*.

[Informant]: Old man Dmytro, son of Stephan, Bykovsky, age 87, town of Nikopol, Katerynoslav county, recorded on June 12, 1894

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky.

Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [Cossacks in folk memory] (Zaporizhzhia: Interbook, 1991), pp. 88-89.

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The origin of Zaporozhians, as perceived by some of the last living Cossacks (fragment)

...

—Так ви, діду, із настоящих запорожців?

—Із настоящих запорожців, та ще й сам трохи запорожець, бо як крестили мене, то батько ще й пороху підсипали у купіль, щоб загартувати, бачите, із самого малку, — уже така поведенція була у тих козаків.

—Ну, скажіть, любий дідуню, звідкіля ті запорожці набирались?

—Звідкіля набирались? Відовсюди. Той звідтіля пріїде, той звідтіля прійде, з десятка до двадцятка, а з двадцятка до тридцятка— та так ціла сила і набиралась. У Січ приймали усякого, тілько менння переставляли: де хто з-під пана утече, пріймуть; де хто од батька та од матері біжить, пріймуть; де якій жінку покине, пріймуть; так аби до Січі докотив, то й живе там, не вигонють. Зараз єму чуприну // заведуть і готов, зараз і зодягнуть. Оце прийде, бувало, до запорожців чоловік босий, голий, а вони єго уберуть як пана. Та воно й дива нема: у їх сукон тих, одежі, так яких хочеш сортів і скілько завгодно можно було достати. Отак вони і набирались. А інколи так і дітей хапали по городах: приманють гостинчиком та й похопають. А вже на Січі воля вольна: не захочеш жити, іди собі хоч зараз...

—А кому ж вони дань платили?

—Аж нікому! Вони самі собою жили, — так, козаки, лицарі та й годі.

—І багато ж їх, скажіть, було?

—Точно доказати вам не докажу, — Бог їх знає, а так як подумаю собі, то наче тисяч двадцять і було, або й більш. Його сила тяженна була, — того запорожця! Кажуть, будьто їх було сорок-сороків, та це вже тоді, як вони виходили відціля. Треба було народу великого, як привилля велике було.

—А привилля таки справді велике було?

—Привілля так уже так, що привілля! Тепер такого ні близько, ні далеко нема. Тепер так, шо волен та недоволен, а тоді так, шо і волен і доволен. Недаром же кажуть, як жили ми за цариці, їли паляниці, а як стали за царя, так не стало й сухаря. Тепер як сказати, шо воно тоді було, так і не повірять...

Фрагмент інтерв'ю Дмитра Яворницького з Іваном Ігнатовичем Россолодою, 116 років,

село Чернишівка Катеринославської
губернії, 1880-ті роки

(Translation)

...

—Well, old man, you descend from the real Zaporozhians, do you not?

—I descend from the real Zaporozhians and a Zaporozhian Cossack myself to a certain extent, because when I was baptized, my father poured some gunpowder to the tub; you see, that was done to ensure the endurance [of a future Cossack] from the early childhood, — there used to be such a custom among the Cossacks.

—Well, tell me, my dear old man, how did Zaporozhians come into being?

—How they came into being? The Cossacks came from different places. One person came from here, and another one came from there, their number increased from ten to twenty, from twenty to thirty— soon they constituted a considerable force. Everybody was welcomed to Sich, only the name had to be changed: some ran from the landlords and were accepted; some ran from their father and mother and were accepted; some left the wife and were accepted; if one made it to the Sich then he was allowed to live rather than being kicked out. The Cossacks at once made the novice a haircut // and had him dressed in a new cloth. It was like the naked and barefoot person came to Zaporozhians, and they would dress him like a lord. Well, such a courtesy could be expected: Zaporozhians had garments, clothes of various fashions and could get as many as necessary. That was precisely how the Cossacks multiplied. And sometimes the Cossacks kidnapped children in the towns: lured them with presents and took children away. But in the Sich the freedom was outstanding: if you did not want to stay there, then you were free to go elsewhere...

—And to whom did the Cossacks pay tribute?

—To no one! They followed their own ways, — well, they were the Cossacks, knights and that's that.

—And were there many of those Cossacks?

—I cannot tell you exactly what there numbers were, — only God knows that, but I think there were at least twenty thousand of them, maybe more. Those Zaporozhians, — name to them was legion! Some say that there were forty thousand of those Cossacks when they were leaving these lands. Well, great freedom required a great population.

—Were those freedoms and liberties of the Cossacks so remarkable?

—If there is such a thing as freedom, they sure possessed one! In our days nothing alike can be found. In our days the one who is free is not happy, and back then everybody was free and happy. As the saying goes when we lived under the Tsarina [when the Tsarina ruled; long ago — *R. S.*] we ate cakes, and under the rule of the Tsar even a [dry] biscuit is treasured. Were I to tell somebody what life was looked like under the Cossack rule, none would believe it…

[Informant:] An excerpt from the interview of Dmytro Iavornytsky with Ivan Ihnatovych Rossoloda, age of 116, village of Chernyshivka, Katerynoslav guberniia, 1880s

Reference: collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky
Published: Dmitrii Evarnitskii, *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniiakh naroda* [Folk memories and antiques related to Zaporozh'e], part II (St.- Petersburg: Izdanie L. F. Panteleeva, 1888), pp. 246-247.

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Cossacks emerged from the people, who got lost while taking beasts to the pasture; Cossacks as shepherds, who became warriors and brigands

Запорожци паслы оттуть по Самари въ лисахъ скотъ тай одризнылысь одъ своихъ и остались тутъ. Тоди и давай до себе наманюваты людей та грабуваты. Якъ иде було чумакъ, то воны простелють повсть, та той кладе, чы рыбу, чы пшоно, що тамъ у его таке есть; а якъ недасть, то винъ (запорожець) заразъ з пыщтоля вола и бахне. А людей небылы, тилько отто оббыралы. Тутъ и городокъ ихній на Самари (річка) есть. И грошвы жъ у ныхъ было, бо страшенно воювалы.

Якъ ихъ зганялы видсиль, то стриляють було у нихъ, а воны, як мнячи, кули ловлять та назадъ себе кыдають. А то простелють повсть на Самари, посидають, в карты грають тай плывуть соби. Та кажуть, у чужу землю десь так, и зийшлы.

Записано Іваном Манжурою у селі Мануйловка Новомосковського повіту Катеринославської губернії від невідомої особи

(Translation)

The Zaporozhians had taken the beasts grazing to the woods along the river of Samara, but got lost from the party and stayed over there. Then they began to lure people and rob [them]. When the wandering trader was coming nearby, the Cossacks would stretch cloth on the land, and that trader would put fish or cereal, or anything else on that cloth; and if the trader refused, then the Cossack would kill the bull [harnessed to the trader's carriage] with a pistol. However, the Cossacks did not beat people, only robbed them. There is the Cossack town on the river of Samara here. And they had lots of money, because they were fighting a lot [and were taking military booty].

While they were being chased away [such picture could be seen that when] the adversaries were shooting at the Cossacks, they were catching bullets like balls and throwing them back. Or even better they did by stretching the cloth over the waters of the river of Samara, and sat there playing cards and sailed like that. People say that the Cossacks sailed to some foreign land this way.

[Informant]: an unknown person in the village of Manuilivka of Novomoskovsk county, Katerynoslav guberniia

Reference: collected by Ivan Manzhura
Published: “Skazki, poslovitsy i t.p., zapisannye v Ekaterinoslavskoi hubernii I. I. Manzhuroiu” [Tales, proverbs and alike recorded in Ekaterinoslav guberniia by I. I. Manzhura], *Sbornik Kharkovskogo filologicheskogo obshchestva. Materialy dlia istorii kolonizatsii i byta Kharkovskoi i otchasti Kurskoi i Voronezhskoi gubernii* (Kharkov: Tip. K. P. Schasni, 1890), p. 133.

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The Cossacks came from the ashes of a burnt body of a fallen knight

Де взялися запорожці

Один багатир та поїхав у дорогу. Виїхав у дикий степ, дивиться— лежить над дорогою голова, така розкішна та красива: видно, якийсь вояка поліг у бою з другим. Під'їхав до неї богатир та й каже:

—Ех, воювала ти, буйна, воювала, та й довоювалася!..

—Ні, — каже, — воювала я та й ще воюватиму!..

—А, — каже подорожній, — так ти он яка...

Та взяв під'їхав до чагарника, назбирав дров та й запалив голову... Дивиться тоді на попілець, де саме лежала голова, — такий гарний, не надивишся. Він взяв та й забрав його в хустину.

З'їздив, куди було треба, приїздить додому, поклав той попіл на лаві та й вийшов з хати. А в нього, в того богатиря, та була дочка, уже доросла. Взяла вона той вузлик з лави, розв'язала та й зачудувалася — таке гарне. "Ану, візьму покуштую." Узяла вона на язик того попілу та з того й завагітніла. Через рік народився у неї син, та такий же хороший, як та голова була хороша. От росте і росте той син. Виріс уже чималий хлопчик. Женуть товар пасти: женуть і діти, й дорослі. Дівчинин хлопець, хоч іще й малий був, дивиться, що женуть і діти, та й собі прохає матері, щоб його відпустила погнати свій товар на пашу. Його пустили. От і пасли вони гуртом, та все якось не було ладу між пастухами: які більші, то меньчих ганяють та й ганяють завертати, а самі не дуже-то завертають. От тоді той, дівчинин хлопець і каже:

—Давайте оберемо собі отамана, котрий нами керуватиме.

Всі з нього сміються— звісно, мале ж воно. А він— на своєму: обирати, та й годі!

—Ну, — кажуть, — як же ми будемо обирати?

—Та так, — каже хлопець, — кожен хай крикне на жаб, що ось гудуть у озері, хай замовкнуть. Кого послухають, той буде й отаманом.

Кричить один, гука другий і так усі поодинці перекричали— нікого не слухають. От тоді й сміються хлопцеві:

—Ану ж, гукни на їх ти.

Він тоді підійшов до озера та як гукне: "Цитьте!.." — так і заніміли жаби...

От і став той хлопчик отаманом, і такий лад настав між пастухами, що всі не надивуються.

Лежить раз отаман у курені, аж по дорозі йде якийсь чоловік, а кругом шиї йому, чи то бог так покарав, а чи поробив який лихий чоловік, — величезна гадина обвилася. Отаман і не дивиться в той бік, де чоловік той іде, а сам гука на хлопців:

—Ану, заверніть того чоловіка до мене.

Пішли, гукають: //

—Іди, отаман кличе!

Той не хоче, а йде своєю дорогою.

Прийшли хлопці до отамана:

—Не хоче, — кажуть.

—Підіть, щоб неодмінно прийшов до мене.

Догнали, кажуть:

—Грізно звелів отаман, іди до нього.

Тоді подорожний вернувсь, приходе до отамана.

А цей як гукне на гадюку:

—Ступай, — каже, — невіро, в свою сторону, годі тобі християнську кров ссати!

Гадюка впала на землю та й поповзла геть.

—А ти, чоловіче, йди собі, куди тобі треба, більш вона тебе не мучатиме.

А раз якось-то дуже провинився один хлопець перед усіма скотарями.

—Повісити його на коров'яці, — каже отаман.

—Та хіба ж коров'як видерже? — питаються в нього.

—Вішайте, та й годі, — відмовляє отаман.

Повісили... Тоді стали всі свого отамана боятись: "Це він" — кажуть,— "і всіх нас може перевішати." А далі змовились утікати від нього. Та тільки куди хто не поткнеться втікати, аж воно вода кругом— не пускає. Нічого робити, вертаються до отамана.

—Ех, — каже, — хлопці, тепер уже нам із вами вкупі доведеться доживати.

Та розіслали по воді повсть, а там розклав вогонь, щоб варити на повсті кашу, потім посідали на повсті та й поїхали водою обирати собі місця, де краще. Ото з тих пастухів і стали перші запорожці.

Записав Г. Бойко з народних уст в Богучарському повіті на Воронежчині у 1906 році

(Translation)

Where Zaporozhians did come from

Once upon a time a knight went on a voyage. He went out to a wild steppe and found a chopped off head lying on the road, which was so

wonderful and handsome, and which probably belonged to some knight, who had fallen in battle with the foe. So, the traveling knight approached it and said as follows:

—What a shame that you, who had seen so many battles, would fight no more!..

—The head said "No," — said, — I was fighting and will fight again!..

—O, — said the traveler, — there is much more to you [than a mere look]...

He drove to the bushes, gathered some firewood and burned the head… He took a glance at the ashes where the head had lain, — such a handsome one that one's eyes could hardly be taken away from it. So, he picked the ash and wrapped it into his kerchief.

Upon returning home from the business of his the knight came home and put that ash on the bench and left it there. And that knight had a daughter, already a maiden. She took that package from the bench, unwrapped it and was captivated with the sight— it looked so fine. "I am tempted to try its taste." She tasted it and eventually got pregnant. In a year she gave a birth to a son so handsome, as that [burnt to ashes] head used to be. So, her son grew and grew bigger. Soon he became quite a boy. Once upon a time children and adults were taking herd to a pasture. The son of the knight's daughter, even though a child himself, seeing that children took part in taking the herd to the pasture, begged his mother to let him participate in taking cattle grazing. So, he got permission to go. So, those shepherds were together in charge and there was no consent among them: the adults were sending the youngsters to do all the job of halting and chasing the cattle without doing their share of work. At some point the son of the knight's daughter said:

—Let us elect the Chieftain from among us, who will be in charge of our party.

Everybody began mocking him— you know; he was way too young for such a motion. But he persisted, — saying that a Chieftain had to be elected and that's that!

—Very well, — the shepherds said, — how then shall we elect one?

—Let us do the following, — the boy said, — let each of us try to hush off the frogs, who are croaking in the lake. The one who achieves that will be our Chieftain.

One shouted, another screamed, one after another— nobody managed to hush the croaking of the frogs. At that point the shepherds said smiling to the boy:

—Now it is your turn.

Upon hearing this, the boy approached the lake and shouted: "Hush!" — and all the frogs went numb…

So, that was how that boy became a Chieftain and such a concord was established among the shepherds that everybody was amazed.

Once upon a time the Chieftain was lying in the hut, and suddenly he saw a man walking along the road and around his neck, — and that was either inflicted as God's punishment or done by some evil person, — a huge serpent was hanging. Without looking at that man the Chieftain told his men:

—At once go and bring that person before me.

They went and called upon him: //

—Come, our Chieftain is summoning you!

That poor man did not want to come and continued walking as he had done before.

Those dispatched to run an errand came back to the Chieftain:

—He does not want to come before you, — they told the Chieftain.

—Go and make him to come before me at any cost.

The men caught up with the person, assailed by a serpent:

—Our Chieftain demands you to come before him.

After that the wanderer returned and approached the Chieftain.

And the Chieftain shouted at the serpent:

—Go, — he shouted, — you, unholy beast, to where you must go and cease sucking the blood of the Christians!

The viper fell on the ground and crawled away.

—And you, man, go on your business, and that serpent will torment you no more.

Once upon a time one lad faulted terribly before other shepherds and was apprehended.

—Hang them on the rope, made out of cow excrements, — the Chieftain ordered.

—Is it going to support him sufficiently? — the shepherds asked the Chieftain.

—Hang him high, — the Chieftain responded.

They hanged the man and he died... After that the shepherds became to be afraid of their leader: "He can, — the conversation persisted — hang us all like that." And they decided to escape from the Chieftain. But whenever they ran, they got surrounded with water— it hampered their way. Nothing could be done and they returned to the Chieftain.

—Well, guys, — the Chieftain commented, — it looks like that we have to live together from now on.

So, they stretched the cloth on the water, set a bonfire on the top of it to make porridge, then mounted the cloth and sailed away looking for the better place to live. Those were the shepherds, from whom the first Zaporozhians descended.

Collected by H. Boiko from an unknown informant in Bohuchar county of Voronezh region, 1906

Reference: original record is preserved in Central Library of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (TsNB), fund II, 2462, pp. 3-4.

Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O. I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), pp. 190-191.

APPENDIX B: Natural and Supernatural Characteristics of the Cossacks

-1-

The Cossacks test the newcomer in an original initiation ceremony; the Cossack wits

Искусъ предъ вступленіемъ въ Запорожское братство

Запорозці, якъ підмовлять, було до себе на Січъ якого хлопця зъ Гетьманщини, то перше пробують, чи годитця буть // Запорозцемъ. Отто звелять ему варити кашу: “Гляди жъ, вари такъ, щобъ и не сира була, щобъ и не перекепіла. А ми пійдемъ косить. То ти, якъ уже буде готова, вийди на такий-то курганъ, да й зови нас: а ми почуемо, да й прийдемъ.”

Отъ поберуть коси да й пійдуть ніби-то косить. А де въ чорта імъ хочетця косить! Заберутця в камишъ да й лежять. То оце хлопець, зваривши кашу, вийде на могилу и зачне гукати. А вони й чують, да не озиваютця. То винъ гукае-гукае, да давай плакать: “Отъ занесла мене нечиста сила міжъ сіі Запорозці! Лучче бъ було дома сидіти при батькові да при матері. Ато ще перекипить каша, то прийдуть да битимуть вражі сини! Ой бідна жъ моя головонько! Чого мене понесло міжъ сіі Запорозці!”

То вони, лежачи въ траві, вислухають усе да й кажуть: “Ні, се не нашъ!” А далі вернутця до куреня, да дадуть тому хлопцеві коня и грошей на дорогу, да й скажуть: “Ідь собі къ нечистому! Намъ такихъ не треба.”

А якъ-же котрий удастця росторопний и догадливий, то // вийшовши на могилу, кликне разівъ зо два: “Гей, панове молодці! Идіте каши істи!” да якъ не озиваютця, то вінъ: “Чортъ же васъ бери, коли мовчите! Буду я й самъ істи.” Да ще передъ одходомъ ударить на могилі гопака: “Ой тутъ мині погуляти на просторі!” Да, затягнувши на ввесь степъ козацьку пісню, и пійде собі до куреня, и давай уплітати кашу.

То Запорозці, лежачи въ траві, й кажуть: “Оце нашъ!” Да, побравши коси, и йдуть до куреня. А вінъ: “Де васъ у біса носило, панове? Гукавъ-гукавъ, ажъ охрипъ; да щобъ каша не перекипіла, то я почавъ самъ істи.”

То Запорозці споглянуть одинъ на одного да й скажуть ему: “Ну, чуро, вставай! годі тобі буть хлопцемъ: теперъ ти рівний намъ козакъ.”

И приймають у товариство.

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш

(Translation)

Initiation while accepting people to the Cossack brotherhood

When the Zaporozhians happened to lure some lad from the Hetmanate to come to the Sich, they first tested whether or not that lad deserved to be // a Cossack. So, Zaporozhians would order him to cook porridge (saying): "Take a caution, cook it until it is neither raw nor overdone. And we are going harvesting. When the porridge is ready, then climb that hill and call us: and we shall come upon hearing your call."

Well, the Cossacks would pick their scythes and would go as if to harvest. But, in the name of devil, who would want to harvest? They would crawl to the reeds and stretch down over there. So, that lad upon finishing cooking the porridge would come up the hill and would start calling. And Cossacks would here him, but keep silence. So, after calling his peers to no avail the lad would start crying: "The works of an ungodly one brought me among those Cossacks! How much better would I be around my father and mother? And if this porridge is to be spoiled, those evildoers will beat me up for that! I weep for my life! Why did I end up among those Cossacks?"

So, the Cossacks would listen to that weeping while lying in the grass and would say: "No, this is not [the Cossack] material!" Upon returning to their hut they would give that lad a steed and some money, and would part saying: "May you ride to hell! We are better off without the likes of you."

And if the lad happened to be smart and swift, then // upon coming up the hill he would call a couple of times: "Hei, glorious lords! Come to eat the porridge!" and if the Cossacks did not call back, then the lad would say: "Devil with you, if you are not responding! I shall eat by myself." And before leaving he would dance on the mound: "That is the life for me to live in the wide-open space!" And, while singing the Cossack song for the entire steppe to hear, the lad would go to the hut and would start eating the porridge.

The Zaporozhians, lying in the grass and hearing that, would say: "He is one of us!" They would pick their scythes and return to their hut. And the lad would say: "Where, in the devil's name, have you been, my lords? I ruptured my throat while calling you; the spoilt porridge just won't do, so I have started eating it."

So, the Cossacks would look at each other and would tell him: "Rise on your feet, you, novice! You are a boy no longer, but a Cossack of our kin."

And accept him into [the Cossack] host.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish

Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 286-288.

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Zaporozhian Cossacks, their ways and customs

Воспоминанія о Запорожцахъ, объ ихъ нравахъ и обычаяхъ

Козаки підъ Мазепою змінили та й пішли підъ Турка. Турокъ давъ імъ землю и все. Коли жъ умеръ козакъ, а земля й викинула; умеръ другий — и другого викинула, третій — викинула й // третего. Такъ вони тоді: “Эй, братці сердечниі! Вернімось, бо насъ тутъ и земля не приймає.” А Царь Петро вже зазиває. “Вернітця,” каже, “не буде вамъ ніякоі кари, ні упоминку.” Такъ вони й вернулись. То іхавъ разъ батько поузъ Савуръ-Могилу, а тамъ великі шляхи йдуть: одинъ у Московщину, а другий у нашу сторону. То міжъ тими шляхами, коло тиі Савуръ-Могили камінь великий лежить. А зъ нимъ ходивъ тоді на Дінъ Василь Куценко, письменний. Такъ батько каже: “Иди, лишъ, Василю, прочитай, що на тімъ камені написано.” А той пішовъ та й прочитавъ: “Проклятъ, проклятъ, проклятъ, хто буде одъ Запорозцівъ одбірать землю, поки світъ сонця!” Государь таке закляттє положивъ.

Мій батько таки водився зъ тими Запорозцями. Бувало, // то горілку, то-що возять у Січъ. Розсказує було, що, каже, якъ привезешъ горілку, то й прийде куповать, и заразъ бере волочокъ, тягає, самъ пье и душъ десять частує

...Жвавий народъ бувъ! Було якъ пійде конемъ, то не такъ, якъ наші, а такъ, якъ панъ: колибъ струснувся! Такъ и пізнаешъ его оддалеку.

Разъ стою за ворітьми, ажъ іхъ іде трое, а за ними по одному коню підъ вьюками, и що тамъ срібла въ тихъ вьюках! //

...А то вони вертались изъ Польщи. Кажуть батькові: “Уже, Дмитре, надрали; буде зъ насъ, поки й нашого віку.”

Не одну жъ Польщу вони драли: було й нашимъ одъ іхъ лихо. Ні харчі, було, не провезешъ, нічого. Росказувавъ батько, що йдемо — каже — зъ Запорожжя. А братъ до брата на Запорожже ходивъ, такъ вінъ ему два вози риби наклавъ. Идемо зъ Запорожжя, ажъ дивимся— ратище на шляху встромлене. Уже жъ и не йди дальше, ато якъ вискочать прокляті комишники, то не довго на світъ дивитимесся. Зупинили воли, ажъ и іде іхъ три. Два жъ стоіть на коняхъ, а одинъ до воза: “Розшнуровуй візъ, вражий сину!”... //

Візъ бувъ очеретомъ укритий, и списъ у ему стримівъ. Той чумакъ дививсь-дививсь, далі якъ ухопить списъ та якъ суне того комишника підъ бікъ, — такъ и пройнявъ.

“А йдіть,” каже, “й ви сюди! [На тихъ уже, що на коняхъ сидять.] И вамъ те буде!”

То тиі бачать, що се не промахъ...Та й оружже поодкидали.

"Сховаймо," кажуть, "его, братці: то не падлюка, то Християнинъ"...

Тоді питаютця: "Хто жъ ти такий?"

"Я," каже, "оттакий и такий. Ходивъ до брата въ гості."

"Знаємо," кажуть, "того козака. Щобъ же тебе! Коли-бъ ти намъ хочъ слово сказавъ, що ти его братъ, ми бъ тебе й не чіпали."//

Да і поіхали.

Такий-то народъ бувъ! Якъ не краде Запорожець, то й кажуть ему: "Доки ти, вражий сину, будешъ лежати? И чарки горілки ні за що випіть."

Нашъ родичъ Яцько бувъ у Запорозцяхъ; то було розсказує. Пішли ми — каже — ажъ за Богъ-ріку...коней красти. Глянемъ, ажъ такий табунъ коней ходить! Отъ я прилізъ, ажъ Нагаець вартовий спитъ и віжки замотавъ коло руки. Я якъ сунувъ его списомъ! а вінъ бувъ у панцирі...Вінъ якъ схопитця та до мене! то якъ-би не було ножа, то зарізавъ би вражій синъ. Ато я якъ черкну его ножемъ по горлу, то вінъ такъ и повалився.

А вже въ Січъ баба не ходи. Хочъ-би сестра, хочъ-би рідна мати— не пустять. Такъ, чортъ знае по-якому жили тиі Запорозці: самі собі якъ бурлаки...//

...Бувъ одинъ Запорожець Нагаєць та и внадився до паламарки. Коло Січи тамъ десь у сельці паламаръ живъ, такъ вінъ до паламарки и внадився... [Одинъ козакъ] ...нагаемъ вибивъ, и // кошовому зъясовавъ. Ну, звісно вже: заразъ до стовба та киями. Занедужавъ сердешний Нагаець отъ такоі бані и вмеръ незабаромъ.

Уже що бойкий людъ бувъ, то такъ!... А разъ таки добре допекли мойму батькові. Сидить вінъ изъ ними въ леху та й пьють. А вони й давай его на сміхъ підіймать: "Ге, васъ," кажуть, "тамъ у Польщи [а се бъ то, бачъ, на Вкраіні] миромъ не мажуть, а гусячимъ саломъ."

А батько...схопивсь та на базарі купивъ хліба та й пішовъ до кошового. Кошовий вислухавъ. "Ишъ," каже, "вражі сини! А вони жъ // изъ чого поплодились? И вони жъ изъ мужиківъ породились, а теперъ уже тілько іхъ миромъ мазано!" "А пійди," каже на козака, "...помири іхъ."

Прийшовъ козакъ зъ батькомъ до леху: "А чого," каже, "ви тутъ, вражі сини, змагаетесь?"

А вони: "Сядь...батьку, чарку горілки випий." Отъ вінъ посидівъ трохи. "Що жъ," каже, "я дармо чоботи топтавъ для васъ? Положіть по рублю!"

Усі виняли по рублю й положили ему въ шапку. И батько мусивъ положить рубля. Такъ розсудивъ, диаволовъ синъ!

Ато, кажуть, ще-то въ-старовину одібравъ кошовий що найкращий народъ та одіжний та й пославъ до короля. Отъ Ляхи бачать, що въ іхъ уси оттакелезни: “Чого бъ,” кажуть, “дать імъ істи? Даймо імъ сметани.”

Дали сметани. А Запорозці кажуть: “У насъ не дають сметани напередъ; медъ напередъ дають.”

“Ну, дать імъ меду!”

Дали меду. А вони якъ попоіли меду та позакручували уси: “Теперъ,” кажуть, “давайте й сметани!” //

А підъ той часъ неприятель прославъ Ляхамъ лукъ: “Якъ не натягнете,” каже, “сего лука, то становітця на баталію.”

Отъ Ляхи пробовали— ніхто не натягне.

А одинъ Запорожець...Узявъ, такъ и натягнувъ лукъ.

...Э, здоровий народъ бувъ! Уже якъ зруйнували Січъ, то одинъ такий бувъ здоровий, що духомъ убъе чоловіка. Якъ пішовъ причащатьця та духу не втаівъ, то трохи священникъ не впавъ навзнакъ.//

...Ще скоро рознеслася чутка, що Запорожже зруйнують, то Гетьманці було Запорозцямъ співають:

Вражі сини Запорозці не добре вчинили:
Степъ широкий, край веселий та й занапастили.

То Запорозці було злятця! Вони бъ то й били іхъ, такъ и то жъ народъ военний... //

Якъ уже въ Січъ Москаль поринувъ, то вони драла, а Москаль: “Біжіть та коло Кизикермена ланцюгъ перекиньте черезъ Дніпръ! якъ будуть утікать, то зъ пушокъ на іхъ!” А вони вербу зрубали та й пустили по Дніпру. То верба вдарилась объ ланцюгъ, а пушки — гу, гу! А Запорозці тоді: “Оттеперъ, братця, гребіть!” та й утекли одъ Москаля.

Записано Пантелеймоном Кулішем
від Клима Бєліка

(Translation)

Reminiscences about Zaporozhian Cossacks, their ways and customs

During the reign of Hetman Ivan Mazepa the Cossacks betrayed the Russian Tsar and took refuge under Turkish rule. The Turks allotted them land and everything needed to settle in a new land. When a Cossack died, the land would not take him; when the second one died— the land would not take him, too, and // the third one as well. So, the Cossacks said: “O, dear brethren! Let us return to Christian land for here the pagan land does not accept us in peace.”

And Peter the Tsar started calling them: "Come back," he said, "and you will suffer neither punishment nor mentioning of your guilt." So, they returned. Once my father was riding near the Tomb of Savur and over there great highways stretch before you: one leads to the Muscovite land, and the other one leads to our land.

So, between those highways lies a huge piece of rock. And in his trip to the Don [Cossack land], my father had a literate companion, Vasyl Kutsenko. So, my father told him: "Vasyl, go and read to me what is written on that rock." Vasyl did as he was told and read the following: "Damned, damned, damned will be the one, who plots to take the land from the Cossacks as long as the sun shines there!" A sovereign placed this spell [onto the Cossack land].

My father was friendly with those Zaporozhian Cossacks. They // used to bring vodka to the Sich. He used to tell that when he had brought vodka, a Cossack would come, would pull [a barrel] with a rope, and carry on drinking and treating ten other Cossacks.

...Those people were very energetic! When they were riding their mounts they were sitting in the saddle not like those of our kin, but rather as the lords [accustomed to riding the mounts]: straight as a candle! He was easy to recognize from afar.

Once, I remember, that I was standing in front of the gates [of our house] and saw three of the mounted Cossacks riding, each of them having an extra steed under the burden of sacks, full of silver! //

...They were coming from the lands, which were under Poland. The Cossacks told my dad: "Well, Dmytro, we have got enough booty from the raids; it will last us for our lifetime."

They were plundering not only in Poland: some of ours suffered from them. Neither food nor anything else could be taken bypassing them. My father used to tell, that once they had gone to the Cossack land-beyond-the-rapids [Zaporozhzhia]. He went to pay a visit to his brother, who gave my dad two carts full of fish. He told me that when they were coming from Zaporozhzhia they encountered a spear, stuck in front of them on their way. We did not dare to pass that mark for the cursed reeds-men (brigands, who hid in the reeds — *R. S.*) might just jump out and kill us. So, we stopped the bull carts and encountered three fighters on the steeds riding towards us. Two of them remained mounted and the third one came directly to the cart shouting: "Show what you have got in this cart, you, son of a devil!"...//

The fish in the cart was covered with reeds and had a spear stuck in it. The assailed trader first was looking and looking at what was happening and then, -zing! – he grabbed the spear and pierced the brigand through, — did quite all right too.

"Come forward as well!" the trader told the two remaining brigands, I will treat you alike!"

Brigands noticed that the trader had been in tighter places… And they threw down their weapons.

"Let us burry the fallen," those brigands said, "he was no scum, but a Christian"…

Upon that they asked the trader: "Who and what are you?"

"My father called his name," saying, "I visited my brother as guest."

"We do know that Cossack," the fighters replied. "Curse on you! Were you to tell us before the attack that that Cossack is your brother then we would have let you pass."//

And they rode away.

Cossacks were that kind of people! If the Cossack did not steal, others would tell him: "For how long are you planning on being a lazy bone? Curse on you for that. Because of you being lazy we cannot afford to drink a single glass of vodka."

Our relative Yatsko was a Zaporozhian Cossack; he used to tell us as follows. We went — he was saying — to the land of the Tatars beyond the river of Boh… to steal some steeds. And ran into a fair flock of horses! So, I crawled staying unseen towards a Tatar-the guard, sleeping with the harness of his horse twisted around his arm. I pierced him with my lance! And that foe was wearing body armor… He woke up at once and jumped at me! Had I not had a dagger, that devil's offspring would cut me dead. But I slit his throat and he fell along dead.

As for the Cossack encampment of Sich no women were allowed on premises. Even if one were a true sister or a mother— they would not be allowed through. That was how those Cossacks were living: lonely as beggars…//

...There was one Cossack by the name Nahaets, who had an affair with the Church cantor's wife. Near the encampment of Sich in the village lived a cantor, and with his wife the above-mentioned Cossack had an affair… Nahaets got caught and one of his brethren beat him with a whip and // brought him in front of the Chieftain.

Well, you know the law: at once the Cossacks chained Nahaets to the poll and beat him with the staffs. The poor Nahaets fell ill much from such a punishment and passed away very soon.

And those Cossacks were so energetic! ...Once they really insulted my father. He was drinking with them at the pub. And they started making fun of him: "Look, you," the Cossacks were saying, "there in Poland [you see, meant the Ukrainian lands] you are not baptized with the holy myrrh, but with the fat of a goose."

And my father…ran to the market place, bought a loaf of bread (as a customary present — *R. S.*) and went to a Chieftain in order to submit a complaint. Chieftain listened to a plea. "O, those," he said, "sons of the devil! And what is about their // descent? They came out off peasant stock themselves and now they are the only ones baptized the holy myrrh!" "Off you go," the Chieftain told to one of the Cossacks to run an errand, "...settle the dispute."

That Cossack came to the pub with my father. "Why have you started quarreling, you, sons of the devil?" he asked the Cossacks.

And they responded saying: "Sit with us...for we respect you like a father, share a drink of vodka with us." So, the Cossack on an errand feasted for a while and then said: "Why, did I come here in vain beating my boots for you? For this each of you will give me a rouble (large silver coin — *R. S.*)!"

Everybody took a ruble and put it the Cossack's hat. And my father was also forced to do so. That was how that devil's son settled that dispute!

I also heard that ages ago a Chieftain of the Cossacks selected his best and well-dressed men and sent them to the king. The Poles paid attention to the long moustache of the Cossack: "With what then do we treat them? Let's give them some sour cream."

So, the Poles gave the Cossacks some sour cream. And Zaporozhians told them: "According to our custom we eat sour cream only after having feasting on honey."

"Well, let's give them some honey!"

Honey was given [to the Cossacks]. And after eating honey they twisted their moustache [so that they would not soil it with sour cream]: "Now," they said, "give us sour cream!" //

And around the same time the enemies sent a strong bow to the Poles saying: "If you cannot pull the bowstring then come and face us in battle."

So, the Poles tried and no one among them did succeed.

And one from among the Zaporozhians ... [accepted the challenge] and pulled the bowstring.

...Yeah, those Cossacks were mighty! When their encampment of Sich was being demolished, there was a Cossack whose breath was enough to kill a man. When he came to take communion [at the church once] had he not held his breath the priest almost fainted. //

...Soon the rumors spread that Zaporozhzhia [the Host of the Lower Dnipro] will soon be liquidated, and the Cossacks of Hetmanate used to sing a following tune:

> Zaporozhians, sons of the devil, committed a major deed
> You doomed the broad steppe and merry heartlands to lie in waste.

For that Zaporozhian Cossacks were mad at them! Zaporozhians would beat the Cossacks of Hetmanate, but the latter were also trained in the art of war [and would not give in easily...] //

When the Russians assailed Sich, the Cossacks started running away, and the Russians ordered: "Go and stretch a chain across the Dnipro River below the town of Kizikermen! And when the Cossacks will run away, then shoot at them with cannons." And the Cossacks first let a willow tree sail down the river. The willow hit the chain and the conned Russians started shooting! And the Cossacks upon hearing the salvo said: "Now, brethren row [while their cannons are still unloaded]!" and they made their escape from the Russians good.

[Informant]: Klym Belik

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 156-165.

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A Cossack of an immense physical strength; *A Cossack of Vasiurynsky Company of the Lower Dnipro Cossack Host*

Преданіе о Запорожцѣ Васюринскомъ

Яку жъ вамъ теперъ пісню заспівать? Хиба про Васюринського?

> Васюринський козарлюга все пъе та гуляе,
> Отамана кошового батькомъ називае:
> "Позволь, батьку отамане, намъ на баштi стати..."

Васюринський, знаете, той бувъ такий сильний, що якъ причащаетця, то чотири чоловіки держять попа, щобъ не впавъ одъ духу. Такий бувъ лицаръ, що тiлько дхне, то одъ самого духу не встоішъ на ногахъ. Якъ прийшли Москалі Січъ жакувати, то вінъ просивъ, щобъ тільreceived позволено ему стать на башті: "Ми," каже, "станемо съ кулаками, то ні списъ, ні куля не візьме."

А опісля, якъ побачили, що Москва вже все позабірала, то сіло іхъ сорокъ тисячъ на човни та й поіхали до Турка.

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш від Кіндрата Таранухи

(Translation)

A Legend about the Zaporozhian Cossack Vasiurynsky

Now what kind of song will I sing to you? Maybe the one about the Cossack Vasiurynsky?

> The mighty Cossack Vasiurynsky is drinking and feasting
> Calling his Chieftain a father:
> "Allow, us, father, to take a stand on the tower…"

You know, Vasiurynsky was so strong that when he was taking the Holy Communion at the church, then four men were holding a priest so he would not faint because of that Cossack's heavy breathing. He was such a mighty knight that people were fainting because of the strength of his breath alone. When the Russians came and started plundering Sich, he asked permission to take a stand on the tower saying: "We take a stand with our fists only and neither lance nor bullet will be able to do harm to us." And later when the Cossacks saw that the Russians took over completely, forty thousand of the Cossacks sat at their boats and left their lands bound for Turkey.

[Informant:] Kindrat Taranukha

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.-Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 141.

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Cossacks as virtuous people; Cossack as a trickster

Запорожское цѣломудріе

Росказувала одна стара баба, що, каже, якъ була я дівкою, то, каже, Запорожець ставъ зо мною жартувати. А другий стоіть да й каже: “Вражий сину! на що ти зъ дівкою жартуешъ? Хиба тобі нема молодиці?”

“Я,” каже, “тілько такъ.”

Да винявъ зъ кишені таку хорошу шовкову хустку! да й каже: “На жъ тобі, бісова дівко, носи. Се тобі за те, що съ тобою пожартовавъ.”

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш

(Translation)

Zaporozhian chastity

One old woman used to tell me that when she was a maiden a Zaporozhian Cossack began to joke around her. And another Cossack, who was standing nearby said to his kin: “Son of the devil! Why are you joking around this maiden? Do you not have a young woman [to court]?”

“I am not serious about this courting,” the first Cossack replied.

[The first Cossack] took a nice silken kerchief out of his pocket! And said: “Take and wear it, you, devil’s daughter. This is to you for my jokes.”

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus’], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 113.

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Cossacks as affluent people; Cossacks as tricksters

Запорожское щегольство

Було що року наіздять на ярмарокъ у Смілу Запорозці зъ Січи. Приіде було іхъ чоловікъ дванадцять, тринадцять. А нарядъ на іхъ такий, що, Боже, твоя воля! Золото та срібло! Оце шапка на // ему буде оксамитна, червона, зъ ріжками, а околичка— такъ пальці на три— або сива, або чорна; на споду у его жупанъ— самий чистий кармазинъ, якъ огонь, що й очима не зоглянешъ; а зверху черкеска зъ вилетами або синя, або голуба; штани суконни сині, широки, такъ и висять ажъ почти по передкахъ; чоботи червоні; а на лядунці або золото, або срібло: и черезплічники, то й те позолочуване; шабля при боку вся буде въ золоті — ажъ горить. А якъ иде, то й до землі не доторкаетця. А оце було сядуть на коней та по ярмарку— якъ искри сяють! Кине оце було бриль та й не допустить: підбіжить конемъ та й ухватить. А скоро въ кого впавъ, то вже оце йдуть, пьють и гуляють за его гроші. А храбрость, така храбрость! Було йде, то ій Богу до землі не доторкаетця! Тілько шамъ, шамъ, шамъ, шамъ— пішовъ гулять!

Сватають було дівчатъ. Мою сестру засватали; то коней у батька поодгодовували, самі неділь зо дві погуляли, а потімъ: “Поідемо жъ ми за свидітельствомъ та будемо вінчатьця.”

Якъ поіхали, то тілько й бачили.

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш

(Translation)

Fancy appearance of Zaporozhian Cossacks

It used to be that every single year Zaporozhian Cossacks from Sich were attending the fair at the town of Smila. They were coming in groups of twelve or thirteen. And they were dressed so nice, God’s will be done! They were clad in gold and silver! The hat on each one of them // was made of velvet, red in color, adorned with fashionable horn-like ends, and a ribbon around it— three fingers in width— gray or black; the robe underneath— crimson silk, like fire to your eyes; the overcoat with attachments either navy or sky blue, the pants were of blue broadcloth, so broad that were hanging freely at the front; the boots were red; magazine for gunpowder was adorned either with gold or silver: even the belt was clad with gold; saber on the Cossack’s side would also be golden — as bright as

the sun. And when a Cossack was walking, he was hardly touching the ground. When they were riding at the fair— they resembled sparks of bonfire! If one Cossack happened to throw the hat down, he would not allow it to touch the ground: he would spur the steed and catch his hat before it touched the ground. And if somebody failed to catch the hat then he would treat his friends with drinks and entertainment. And so courageous were they! I swear to God, some of them were walking without touching the ground! [Sounds of a Cossack walking]— and off he went!

It happened that the Cossacks were courting the maidens. One of them got engaged with my sister; they fed their steeds on my father's forage, as well as feasted themselves for two weeks or so, and then said: "We are riding away to obtain a marriage license and after that we shall be wed at the church."

They rode away and never came back.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 139-140.

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Hospitality of the Cossacks; Physical strength of the Cossacks; Social division among the Cossacks

Запорожцы на своихъ рыбныхъ ловляхъ

Я служивъ два годи у Бериславі, а тамъ недалеко рибні заводи Запорозькиі. То було якъ прийдешъ у заводъ, то вони тебе не стануть питать, що ти за чоловікъ, а заразъ: "Дайте лишъ козаку попоісти, та й горілки чарку піднесіть, бо вінъ, може, здалека йде, то втомивсь." //

Отъ якъ наісись, то ляжъ одпочинь, да тогді вже питають: "Хто ти такий? Може, роботи шукаешъ?"

Отъ и скажешъ: "Шукаю."

"Такъ и въ насъ е робота; приставай!"

То й пристанешъ, и часомъ за місяць рублівъ двадцять заробишъ.

А народъ бувъ усе роскошний. Шиі такиі, що хочъ обіддє гни. Уже вони до себе якого-небудь не приймуть. А уси довгі, що ажъ за уши позакладують. У неділю було зберутця гулять; то багатиі особо, а вбогиі особо. Багатиі й шатеръ собі напнуть и справляють балъ: горілку пьють, у карти, а найбільше въ шашки, грають. На кобзі було лірникъ імъ грае, підобгавши ноги, а вони танцюють. Пійде було навприсядки, то геть обійде— чортъ знае де. То вже народъ муштрований бувъ! Або колесомъ пійде...то чортъ его знае, якъ вінъ тамъ котитця: зовсімъ якъ колесо!

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш від "пасічника з Кременчуга"

(Translation)

Zaporozhian Cossacks at their fishing enterprises

Once, I used to serve two years in the town of Beryslav, not far from there were fishing enterprises of Zaporozhian Cossacks. Once you got to that enterprise, the Cossacks would not ask questions regarding what kind of a person are you, but would say at once: "Feed the Cossack and serve him a drink of vodka for maybe he is coming from afar and is tired." //

Once you are fed then lie down and rest, and afterwards they would ask you: "What and who are you? Maybe, you are looking for a job?"

So, you would reply: "Yes, I am looking for a job."

"We can use help at our enterprise; work for us!"

So, you would join in, and at the times earned up to twenty rubles a month.

And so well off people those Cossacks were. One could have bent iron bars around their necks. And they would not accept misfits to their group. And those Cossacks grew such a long moustache that it curled around their ears. On Sundays they planned parties; rich and poor in separate groups. The rich ones would set tents up and party: drink vodka, play cards, or rather, chess. Minstrel would happen to play for them on his lute, sitting there with his legs crossed, and the Cossacks would be dancing. A Cossack would make such steps that eye could hardly follow him. Those Cossacks certainly knew how to dance! Or one of them would roll as a wheel in dance… Devil knows how he managed to roll like that: truly, rolled as a wheel!

[Informant]: a "bee-keeper from Kremenchuh"

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St. - Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 111-112.

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Appearance and character of Zaporozhian Cossacks (fragment)

Запорозьци

Булы колысь запорозьци, а теперъ ни; не те вже, не на ту стать. Теперъ уже воны перевелысь... Воны й туты булы — Запорожжа; а теперъ уже й прошло. Гатьманци булы, запорозьци. Роскошный народъ. Гатьманци булы таки, шо жылы— въ однимъ мисти Запорожжа, а тутъ гатьманци: такъ сказать, шо мы волосты тыи, а ти тыи— гатьманьци.

Запорозьци теперъ за Билою ричкою (Кубань — *П. М.*), де тепли воды: тамъ недалеко коло Азовського моря... Позагоныли теперъ ихъ, Боже мой! Разъ одынъ булы мы тамъ...

...Бачъ, запорозьци яки булы: отаки штаны вшыршкы— о-о, Боже мой! Роскошный народъ. Вусы таки, шо и за вухо заклада... Въ чупрынахъ. Чупрыны таки, шо дьвичи, трычи за вухо заклада, ше й высыть отакъ.

...На ихъ— чорни штаны й кытаеви тамъ. Чорни, зелени и всякыхъ матерій, а въ билыхъ не ходылы (білі штани, за звичаєм, носили українські селяни; можливо, що так козаки намагалися відрізняти себе від селян — *Р. Ш.*)... Чоботы сапьянови: съ чорного сапьяну и съ червоного... //

Шапкы булы гостри и зъ верхамы булы. Красывый народъ такы булы, Боже мій мылостывый!... Пры оружіяхъ: шабля и пистолетъ...

Доводылось у слободи у ихній буть: такъ, переходылы. Та такъ: чы напоять, чы кусокъ хлиба страннымъ дають: воны люде славни.

Переходылы тико станыцю. Станыци звуться Петрыкивка, Мыхайлова...третю переходылы Вознесенську... Ото тилко...ото тилко ихъ и бачылы. У Вознесенській сами вже настоящіи (станиці на Кубані названі на честь козацьких поселень на півдні сучасної України — *Р. Ш.*).

Петрыкивку переходылы утромъ. Черезъ базаръ йихалы весною...Выдалы и малыхъ, и старыхъ, и жинокъ. Одлышный народъ. Одлышный народъ Запорожжа...

(Translation)

Zaporozhian Cossacks

There was a time when there were many Zaporozhian Cossacks, but this is no longer so; now there are no people like those Cossacks, no people of such strength. They are gone now… The Cossacks used to be where we are now— at Zaporozhzhia; and they are gone now. They were people of the Hetmanate, the Zaporozhians.

They were a magnificent people. The Cossacks of Hetmanate were those who lived— at certain places of Zaporozhian lands and here the Cossacks of Hetmanate: like we here are peasants and those folks— the Cossacks of Hetmanate.

In our days Zaporozhian Cossacks are beyond the White River (river of Kuban' — *P. M.*), where the waters are warm: that place is not far from the Sea of Azov… They were chased away from here so far, o, my God! Once upon a time we were there…

…You see, what kind of people the Zaporozhian Cossacks were: they had pants so wide— o-o, my God! Those people were magnificent. They had moustache long enough to be wrapped around their ears…And they had quite forelocks. Such long forelocks, wrapped around their ears twice or thrice with some more hanging down.

…Those Cossacks were wearing black silken pants. Pants of black, green and other fabric, except white (white pants were customarily worn by Ukrainian peasants, so the Cossacks probably intended to distinguish between the rustic folk and themselves by wearing distinct clothes — *R. S.*)…and those Cossacks wore boots of fine leather: of black and red leather is to say…//

Their caps were pointy, adorned with tips. The Cossacks of the Zaporozhian Host were so handsome, God gracious! …They were armed: a saber and a pistol…

I happened to be in one of their settlements: we were passing through. So, those Cossacks [had their own custom]: they would either serve you a drink or spare a loaf of bread to strangers: those Cossacks were people of great dignity.

We were just passing through the village. Their villages' names were Petrykivka, Mykhailova…and the third one Voznesenska…So, those were the only times…when we saw them. The most distinguished Cossacks were in the village of Voznesenska (the Cossack villages in the Kuban' region were frequently named after the settlements in central, eastern and southern parts of present-day Ukraine — the places, from where the Cossacks of Zaporozhian Host came from — *R. S.*).

We were passing through Petrykivka in the morning. We went there in the spring because of the fair… We saw the children, elderly and women [of Cossack origin]. They are the most distinguished people. The Zaporozhian Cossacks are the most distinguished people…

[Informant]: Tymofii Rossokha, ca 1880s

Reference: collected by Porfyrii Martynovych.
Published: Porfyrii Martynovych, *Ukrains'ky zapysy* [Ukrainian records] (Kiev: Typ. Imperatorskago universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1906), pp. 285-286.

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Cossacks as tricksters; Cossacks stealing the maidens and selling them (explanation of why Zaporozhian Cossacks were celibate)

Торговля невольницами на Запорожьи

Тогді такъ було, що оце підмовить дівку, завезе на Запорожжя, продасть, а самъ вернетця. Мині одинъ признавсь: “Я,” каже, “продавъ Варку, то й каюся, и не буду до віку женитьця.”

И не женився.

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш

(Translation)

The female slaves’ trade in Zaporozhian Cossacks’ land

In the days of old it happened that a Cossack would lure a maiden, take her to the Cossack land beyond the rapids of Dnipro River, sells her and then returns. One such trickster confessed to me: “I,” he said, “sold Varvara, and still spend my time in repentance and will never marry in my life.” And he never married [just like he had promised].

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus’], vol. 1 (St. - Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 102.

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Cossacks as smart people

Козакъ

Въ коршмі козакъ, купивши горілки пів-кварти, випивъ, витягає ковбасу, закусює. Але тамъ бувъ другий чоловікъ и каже:

—Ото въ мене собача натура: якъ випью, закусивъ би!

И то кілько разівъ повторивъ, дивлючися на козака.

Той зрозумівъ и каже:

—То, то біда, що въ мене чортова натура, що не люблю давати, якъ хто просить.

Записав Григорій Залюбовський

(Translation)

A Cossack

Once in a pub a Cossack bought half-quart of vodka, drank it, took out a piece of sausage and began to eat. And there was another man [drinking in the pub], who said:

—What cursed a nature do I possess: vodka makes me hungry every time I drink!

And he repeated this phrase several times, while staring at the Cossack [who was eating].

The Cossacks finally understood this and says:

—That is a shame that I have possessed such a diabolic nature that prevents me from giving anything away when somebody is asking for it.

Reference: collected by Hryhorii Zaliubovsky
Published: Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskostatisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai. Materialy i issledovaniia* [Records of ethnographic expedition to western Russia], vol. 2 (St.-Petersburg, 1878), p. 667.

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Cossack as smart, amorous people; why Cossacks and Polish landlords often look alike

Чому козакъ схожий зъ паномъ?

Це було на Волині. У одного пана Ляха було багато маятівъ. Отъ приїхавъ той панъ якось у свою слободу, а вправитель и приславъ до его козака зъ бамагами зъ другої слободи. Глянувъ панъ на козака — здивувався: мовъ вилитий другий вінъ, самъ стоїть передъ нимъ. Отъ и питає козака:

—Чи не була твоя мати прачкою у горницяхъ за мого батька?

—Ні, не була, озвався козакъ, тільки мій батько вісімъ літъ топивъ у горницяхъ груби, за старої пані.

Записав Ґригорій Залюбовський

(Translation)

Why does a Cossack resemble his landlord in appearance?

This story happened in Volhyn region. One Polish landlord had many estates. Once he visited one of his villages, and the secretary of the lord dispatched to his master the Cossack from different village to deliver some papers. As soon as the landlord saw that Cossack— he was amazed: it was as if he were looking at his own reflection. So he asked the Cossack:

—Is there a chance that your mother was doing laundry at the estate of my father?

—"No, she was not," the Cossack replied, "but my father had been attending the fireplace at you mother's living quarters for eight years."

Reference: collected by Hryhorii Zaliubovsky

Published: Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskostatisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai. Materialy i issledovaniia* [Records of ethnographic expedition to western Russia] vol. 2, (St.-Petersburg, 1878), p. 641.

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Border clashes between the Cossacks and the Poles; special character of relations between the Cossacks and the Polish King

Пограничныя схватки жолнѣровъ съ козаками

Есть десь річка Жовтенька. То по одну сторону, на заходъ сонця, стояли жовніри, а противъ сонця стояли Запорозці. Ізійдутця було въ шинокъ дешеву горілку. То жовніри, а то козаки; у ряду сидять собі. Та якъ напъютця горілки, то й заведутця битьця за гряницю, та часомъ который которого й зарубае. А далі вже такъ завелись, що стали й дуже битьця, и прожену́ть бувало жовнірівъ ажъ геть за слободу, а въ слободі позабірають усе та й вернутця. То жовніри просили короля, щобъ поставлено імъ певну гряницю. Отъ король и каже козакамъ: "Прижeніть тихъ жовнірівъ ажъ у Варшаву." Отъ вони якъ пригнали, то король и каже отаману: "Чимъ тебе наградить? Отъ тобі награда: де побачишъ Жида, або багатого мужика, то печи й дери." Такъ оттогді-то бувъ Нечай и Хмельницький.

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш від Дмитра Погорілого

(Translation)

The Border clashes between the Polish soldiers and the Cossacks

There is a river called Zhovten'ka (most probably "Zhovti vody" — the place of the Polish defeat from the Cossacks in the spring of 1648 — *R. S.*) somewhere. On its western shore the Polish soldiers quartered, and on the eastern shore Zaporozhian Cossacks had their quarters. It happened that both parties went to a pub for a drink of cheap vodka. Soldiers and Cossacks were drinking with their kinsmen. It also happened that when they got drunk, they would start brawl over the boundaries of their lands and some soldiers or Cossacks would be slain.

And situation went out of control more than once so that they started fighting more fiercely, and it happened that the Cossacks would chase soldiers out of the village, pillage the settlement and leave it behind. So, the soldiers begged the Polish king to establish a permanent boundary between them and the Cossacks.

So, the king told the Cossacks: "Chase those soldiers down to Warsaw." And so the Cossacks brought Polish soldiers before the king, and the king told the Cossack Chieftain: "How shall I reward you? Here is your reward: from now on when you see a Jew or an affluent man, burn and plunder them." That was the time of Nechai and Khmelnytsky (leaders of the popular anti-Polish revolt in Ukraine in the 17th century — *R. S.*).

[Informant]: Dmytro Pohorily

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St. - Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 110.

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Cossacks as canny military tacticians

Як козаки взяли Азов

Ще як був Азов турецькою столицею, там стояло багато війська. От козаки і схотіли взять його. Отаман і каже:

—Знаєте, братці, що? Силою, може, і не візьмемо, бо кріпость велика, а характерством та хитрощами візьмемо скоріше. //

Поробили козаки вози, поклали ружжя, понаряжались самі чумаками, а отаман — купцем і махнули. Як стали уже під'їжджать близько до Азова, взяли тоді поховали в вози по сім, по десять, або і більше чоловік козаків, повшивали вози шкурами і гайда. В'їхали перед заходом сонця в Азов і поставали вподовж улицями. От найбагатший купець турский і виходе.

—Що, — каже, — братці, продаєте в возах?

—Продаємо, — кажуть, — товар дорогий: і куниці, і лисиці, і чорні соболі.

—Ну, — каже, — підождіть до ранку, я ввесь товар закуплю сам.

—Добре, — кажуть.

Полягали турки спать. Як повилазили тоді "куниці," "лисиці" і "чорнії соболі" з возів, як митнулись по городу, так і пішов він димом. Турки схватились тушить, коли тут і палять, і ріжуть; вони тоді — хода, навтіки. До сонця орда убралась к бісовій матері в Туреччину, а козакам дostався город і все добро.

Так колись покойні діди і прадіди розказували, так оце і я вам кажу.

Записав Яків Новицький у селі Краснокутівка
Олександрівського повіту Катеринославської
губернії від П. Стогнія у 1888 році

(Translation)

How the Cossacks captured the Turkish fortress of Azov

This happened when Azov was the Turkish capital and the Turks had many troops there. So, the Cossacks decided to capture this fortress. And so the Cossack Chieftain says:

—You know what, my brethren? We may not be able to take this stronghold by force, because it is a huge fortress, but magic and trickery will serve us better in this case. //So, the Cossacks built carriages, hid their weapons inside, got dressed as wandering traders and their Chieftain — as a merchant and went there. As soon as they were approaching Azov, the Cossacks hid seven, ten or more of their kin in each of their carriages and covered them with hides and away we go. They entered Azov before dusk and parked carriages along the streets. Then the most successful of the Turkish merchants came to them and asked:

—Well, — he was saying, — brethren, what is that you are selling?

—We are selling, — the [disguised] Cossacks replied, — some luxurious merchandise: furs of martin, fox and black sable.

—Well, — the Turkish merchant said, — wait till morning and I shall buy all of your goods.

—Very well, — the Cossacks responded.

So, the Turks fell asleep. And all those "martins," "foxes" and "black sables" crawled from their carriages and spread all over the city, starting fires. The Turks rushed to put an end to those fires, but the Cossacks were burning and slaying Turks; so the Turks ran away. When morning came the horde of Turks was gone to devil's mother in Turkey, and Cossacks were rewarded with the city and all the booty.

That was how the late grandfathers and great-grandfathers related this story to us, and I am telling it to you now.

[Informant]: P. Stohnii from the village of Krasnokutivka,
Oleksandrivsk county, Katerynoslav guberniia (1888)

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O.I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv, 1985), pp. 192-193.

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Tatars as tricksters; Cossacks as kharakternyky

Татари и козаки, — характерники

То була козаччина, і орди тоді ходили. Оце з могили похилив віху, люде годі робити: в котру сторону віха похилилась, туди втікати треба. Найбілш ховалися по очеретах. Оце люде // поховалися, а він— лихо ма і де по-над водою, і гукає, да тихо от наче ему страшно, боїться, шоб его не почули: “Степане, Степане!” Або знов: “Іване, Іване! Обізвись же!” В Прилуччині тоді був отаман і в него було 50 козаків. То їздив до нашого села, воно тепер “Котюжинці,” а перше іначе звалося, і в нашому селі пан жив, то він тому панові каже: “не бійся, батьку, поки я жив, ти не бійся.” Бувало наїзжає, то так ото говорить панові. І такий оце, як зійдеться битись, то начнуть стриляти, а він розхрістаїться, розтягне на собі сорочку, то кулі йому в пазуху, в пазуху, наче пчоли в улік. Ще й приказує, бувало; ті, знаїте, стріляють, а він стоїть та: “не плюй, бісів сину! Нашо ти плюєш!” А в Дашківцях був тож отаман, як зъїхалися в двох, обидва незгірші, то цей Прилуцький стояв перше, а той стрилив, то нічого ему не зробив, та тоді як бебехнув у Дешківецький, то той як піръя, як пух, де він і дівся...

Записав Володимир Менчиц

(Translation)

Tatars and Cossacks as *kharakternyky*

That happened when there were Cossacks still and [the Tatar] hordes raided [our lands]. Back then people used to bend the sign on the top of the mounds, stopped working and ran in the direction it showed (as a way of foretelling — *R. S.*).

Most of all our people hid from the raiders in the reeds. So, people // got hidden and [the Tatar?] is riding along the shore and whispers as if he were afraid: “Stephan, Stephan, where are you!” and then again: “Ivan, Ivan! Where are you!” Back then there was a Cossack Chieftain in Pryluchyn, who had 50 Cossacks under his command. So, he rode into our village, which is now called “Kotiuzhyntsy,” and which, at that time, had a different name, and in our village there was a landlord to whom the Chieftain said: “do not be afraid, father, while there is still life in me.” That was what he told the landlord during his visits. And he was such a sorcerer that when he was shot

at while in battle, this Chieftain would unbutton his clothes, and the bullets would fly straight into his sleeves as bees into the beehive. So, that Chieftain used to say while he was shot at: "why are you spitting at me, you, son of a devil. Why are you?"

And there was another Chieftain in the village of Dashkivtsi. Once, those two worthy Chieftains set a duel, and the Chieftain of Pryluky was first to be shot at. His opponent shot at him, but to no avail. And when the Chieftain of Pryluky shot at the [Chieftain] of Dashkivtsi, the latter was blasted away like feathers [in the wind]...

Reference:	collected by Volodymyr Menchyts
Published:	Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), pp. 200-201.

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Duels among the Zaporozhian Cossacks

Поединки у запорожцевъ

Запорозці, скоро було заспорять, заразъ на поединокъ на пистолети. Розстелють бурку: одинъ на одному ріжку стане, // а другий на другому, да й стреляють. Ото въ іхъ тілько й суда.

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш

(Translation)

Duels among Zaporozhian Cossacks

When [two] Zaporozhian Cossacks got into serious argument, they would arrange a duel on pistols at once. They would stretch the sheepskin robe on the ground: one opponent would stay on one corner of the robe, and // his opponent on the other corner and then they would shoot. That was precisely how justice was done among them.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish.
Published: *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St. - Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 302-303.

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Features from the life of Zaporozhian Cossacks (fragment); Cossack encampments; Cossack relations with the Poles and Turks; Cossacks as kharakternyky

Риси з життя запорозьких козаків

Запорозці жили скрізь по Дніпру, у Великому Лузі, по степах та в городках. У нас називають тепер "майдани," а в запорожців то були "городки." Такі городки і тепер є в Старих Койдаках, на Підгороднянським, під Петриківкою. Городки були обнесені високим валом, а в тім місці, куди входити, стояло з боків два високі стовпи. Було, кому є діло до страшини, іди у фортецю дорогою...

Запорожців часто грабували ляхи та турки, а за те, було, не спускають їм і запорожці. У них була черга, кому їхати на роздобутки, кому дома бути. Оце, було, поз'їжджаються в табір, то старшина й питає кожного, що він привіз. Як тільки інший вернеться без нічого або проп'є в дорозі, зараз і кричить: "Київ єретичному синові." Всиплять по три киї у спину, та й край. У них був такий звичай: хоч привіз що— сідай, пий горілку зі старшинами, хоч київ отримував — сідай, пий і їж. Не сердилися довго: не привіз сьогодні — привезе завтра, а все-таки роздобуде на товариство.

//... Поміж запорожців багато було характерників. Берлим розповідав про Кравчину, котрий в Польщі піймав козацького душогуба Саву... Оце // було, б'ються запорожці з ляхами, і, гляди, ляхи побивають наших. Як тільки наскочить Кравчина— так ляхам немає ходу. Кулі летять, а запорожці ловлять їх в заполи. А як треба перейти річку, то Кравчина поведе перед собою і стане сухо. Так. Було, в сухій одежі переходять запорожці і Оріль-річку... А то, було, ще й так. Як треба пливти Дніпром, то зроблять з оситняку пліт, посідають — і гайда за водою...

Записав Яків Новицький від діда Мартина Власовича Кравця-Заїки, 78 років, у селі Нові Кайдаки, 9 травня 1887 року

(Translation)

Some features from the life of Zaporozhian Cossacks

The Zaporozhian Cossacks used to live all over the river Dnipro, in Velykyi Luh, in the steppes and in their steppe fortresses. Nowadays we call those fortresses "squares," and those squares were the fortresses of the Cossacks. There are remnants of such fortresses in Stari Koidaky, in Pidhorodnianske, near Petrykivka.

Those fortresses were surrounded with tall walls of dirt, and on the both side of the entrance two tall pillars were erected there. If anyone had a business of some kind with the Cossack Chieftain, then the former would walk through those gates inside the fortress…

The Zaporozhian Cossacks were often plundered by the Poles and the Turks, and the Cossacks retaliated for those attacks as well. They took their turn: while some parties were out raiding, others stayed at the Cossack encampments. So, when the Cossacks returned to their encampment the Chieftain would ask each one about the booty brought from the raid. And if a Cossack came without booty or blew it on alcohol, the Chieftain would shout: "Beat this heretic with sticks at once." The punished Cossack would take three strokes on his back and that was it. That was the Cossack custom: if you brought booty from the raid— sit and drink with the commanders, if you got punished for not bringing any— sit, drink and eat. They were not angry for a long time: you did not bring anything today — then you will bring something tomorrow and support the brotherhood with your contribution.

//...There were many *kharakternyky* among the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Berlim told me about the Chieftain Kravchyna, who caught the murderer of Cossacks, named Sava (Sava Chalyi— an infamous antihero in the lore about the Cossacks — *R. S.*) in Poland… So, when // the Cossacks were fighting against the Poles and the Poles were taking over, as soon as Kravchyna attacked— the Poles were doomed. Polish bullets would be flying at the Cossacks, and the Cossacks would be catching them in their sleeves. And if there were a need to cross the river, Kravchyna would cross it and it would dry. It happened that the Cossacks were crossing the river of Oril without making their clothes wet… And something else also happened.

If there was need to sail along the river Dnipro, then the Cossacks would make a raft out of reed canes, mount it— and would sail off...

[Informant]: Martyn, son of Vlas, Kravets-Zajika, 78 years of age, village of Novi Kaidaky, May 9, 1887

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Narodna pam'iat' pro kozatstvo* [Cossacks in folk memory] (Zaporizhzhia: Interbook, 1991), pp. 90-92.

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Cossacks as enchanted invincible warriors-sorcerers

Про Запорожців

...От які богатирі були— земля не держала!.. У нього, у того запорожця, сім пудів голова!.. А вуса у нього такі, що як візьме, було, він їх у руки та як розправе одного туди, а другого сюди, то і в двері не влізе, хоч би ті двері були такі, що через них і тройка коней з повозкою проскочила. Вони на дванадцяти язиках уміли балакать; вони із води могли сихими виходить; вони уміли, коли треба, і сон на людей насилать, і туман, на кого треба, пускать, і в річки переливаться...

Вони мали у себе такі верецадла, що, дивлячись у них, за тисячу верстов бачили, що воно у світі й робиться. Оце, як іти куди у поход, то він, хто там у їх був за старшого— чи ватажок який, чи сам кошовий— то він, кажу, візьме у руки верцадло, подивиться в нього та й каже: "Туди не ідім, бо там ляхи ідуть, і туди не ідім, бо там турки або татари заходять, а сюди ідім, бо тут аж нікогісінько нема..."

Записав Дмитро Яворницький у 1890-х роках
на Катеринославщині від діда-сторожа

(Translation)

About Zaporozhian Cossacks

...The Cossacks were so huge, that the earth could hardy bear them!.. Any given Cossack had a head, which weighted some 250 pounds!... And their moustache was so long, that if a Cossack stretched them to both sides, he would not be able to walk through the doors, even though a three-horse carriage would pass easily through those doors. Cossacks could speak in twelve languages; could come out of water with their clothes dry; in case of necessity they could put people to sleep and cover them with fog, and the Cossacks could turn themselves into river...

Those Cossacks also had such magical mirrors that they could see as far as a thousand miles through them. So, before going into battle, the commander, Chieftain (*koshevyi*) or Hetman, would take that mirror, look in it and say: "We are not going there because of the presence of Polish troops in that area, and we are not going there, because there, the Turks and Tatars are roaming, but we are going there, because there are no enemies in sight..."

[Informant]: the old male-guard in Katerynoslav region in the 1890s

Reference: collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky
Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O.I.Dei, et al. (Kyiv, 1985), p. 189.

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Cossacks as kharakternyky

Про Запорожців

...А як вони воювались?

Стануть було отут, на Орловій балці, а против них двадцять повків вийдуть. Так повки самі себе поріжуть, кров тектиме по черево коням, а запорожцям і байдуже: стоять та сміються...

А це все від того, що вони знаючий народ були. На своїй землі їх ніхто не міг узяти. Так вони, як куди їхати, то зараз землі під устілку накладуть, у шапки понасипають та й їдуть. Хто чоботи скине, то й смерть; а хто шапку зніме, тому голову знімуть. Доїдуть у город який, п'ють, гуляють, музики водять, танцюють, а як сві— посідають на коней та й поїхали. І всі чують, як вони й балакають, як і коні у їх хропуть, а їх не бачуть.

Раз були вони у Петербурзі, зайшли у дворець, їм стула подають, а вони посідали на землю та й сидять.

Приходе до їх Катеринич (Катериничем Литвин називає князя Потьомкіна — *Д. Я.*), дивиться, що вони сидять на землі, і давай з них сміятися. Потім підняв руку над одним запорожцем та й цілиться його вдарити.

—Рубай, рубай,— каже, — коли підняв!

Так де тобі рубати! Як підняв руку, так вона й замкнулась, так і заклякла...

Записав Дмитро Яворницький у 1880-х роках у с. Плахтіївка на Катеринославщині від 108-річного діда Якова Литвина

(Translation)

About Zaporozhian Cossacks

...And how the Cossacks were fighting?

They used to take position over here, on the Orlova (Acquiline) ravine, and face twenty regiments [of their foes]. So, those enemy regiments would slay themselves until the horses were walking in blood up to their bellies, and the Cossacks could not care less: they would stand and laugh...

Such things happened because they were sorcerers. Nobody could defeat Cossacks in their own land. So, whenever they were riding, the

Cossacks would fill their boots with earth [from the Christian land] as well as their hats and would ride away. No sooner a Cossack would die or being beheaded in battle wherever he takes his boots or hat off. Riding into the town the Cossacks would drink, have merry time, play music, dance— but at dawn they would mount their steeds and ride away. Everybody could hear them talking and their horses snoring, but nobody could see them in flesh.

Once upon a time the Cossacks were in Petersburg and paid a visit to the [Tsarina's] palace; they were ushered to their seats, but chose to sit on the ground.

Katerynych (the informant called the Tsarina's minion Prince Potemkin "Katerynych" — *D. I.*) came to see them and started laughing, upon seeing them sitting on the bare ground. Then he raised his arm to hit a Cossack [with a saber].

—Come on, cut me down,— the Cossack said, — since you have raised your hand!

But how could the Prince slay that Cossack! As soon as Potemkin raised his arm, it dried out and fell numb…

[Informant]: 108-year-old Iakiv Lytvyn from the village of Plakhtiivka of Katerynoslav region, the1880s

Reference: collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky
Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O.I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv, 1985), p. 189.

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The Cossacks as kharakternyky

Характерство Запорожців

Земля, де ми живемо, одвойована у турка бог його зна, за якого царя. Орда, кажуть, стояла на Хортівському острові, а руське військо протів неї, де тепер Вознесенська. От почали воювати. Орда окопалась і пале з пушок, а москалі товпляться та падають. Як уже полягло багато москаля, цар встав та й журиться. Коли де не взявся запорожець: біжить конем та прямо до царя.

—Здоров, царю!

—Здоров, козаче!

—А що, як?

—Так і так,— каже цар,— полягло війська багато, а турка не візьму.

—Ставай, — каже, — біля мене!

Цар став. Запорожець підняв руку і піймав ядро.

—Ось бач, — каже, — який гостинець! Ну тепер, — каже, — глянь на острів, що там?

Глянув цар, аж турок сам себе руба, сам на себе підняв руку і пішов потоптом. Піднялась велика курява, закрукали круки, а потім стихло.

—Дивись тепер, — каже запорожець.

Глянув цар, аж нема ні одного живого турка— порубали самі себе, а круки видовбують очі. Цар тоді і каже:

—Ну, запорожці, дарую вам цю землю, живіть поки світ-сонця!

Стали вони роз'їжджаться. Москалі посідали на коней, а запорожці прослали на Дніпрі повсть та й подалися до лиману.

Записано Яковом Новицьким у Олександрівському повіті Катеринославської губернії від діда Івана Кардаша у 1884 році

(Translation)

The Cossacks *as kharakternyky*

This land of ours had been reclaimed from the Turks, God knows when and under what Tsar. It is said that the Turkish and Tatar horde was

holding position on the island of Khortytsia, and the Russian army stood directly opposite of it, where now the village of Voznesenska is (now within the city limits of Zaporizhzhia — *R. S.*). So, the battle began. The Turks fortified the island and shot at the Russians with cannon fire, and the Muscovites were stumbling and falling. When many a Muscovite had fallen, the Tsar rose from his seat and lamented [the losses of his army]. Suddenly, a Zaporozhian Cossack showed up riding straight to the Tsar.

—Hello, o Tsar!

—Hello, o Cossack!

—What gives?

—So and so,— said Tsar,— I have lost many men from my army, but could not overcome the Turks.

—Come and stand, — the Cossack responded, — by my side!

The Tsar stood. The Zaporozhian Cossack at once raised his arm and caught the cannon ball.

—You see, — the Cossack said, — what a nice present! And now, — he continued talking to the Tsar, — look at that island and tell me what do you see now?

The Tsar looked at the island and saw the Turks massacring one another and trampling their fallen. A cloud of dust rose and the cawing of ravens was heard, and then calmness fell.

—Now take a look, — the Cossack told the Tsar.

The Tsar looked again and saw no living Turk— they killed one another, and the ravens were picking the eyes of the fallen [Turks]. So, the Tsar said:

—Well, Zaporozhians, I am granting you this land, go ahead and live here till the sun shines (forever — *R. S.*)! Upon this they began to part. The Muscovites mounted the horses, and the Cossacks stretched the robe on the water of the river Dnipro, mounted it and sailed to the estuary.

[Informant]: old man Ivan Kardash from Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia (1884)

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O.I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv, 1985), p. 192.

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Cossacks as mighty knights and kharakternyky; the relations between the Cossacks and the dragons (fragment)

...В народной памяти много местных преданий, много легенд отмечено об острове Хортице и его урочищах, о Змиевой пещере. По сказаниям деда Фоки Горянца, после Христова Рождения в пещере этой жил трехголовый Царь-Змий, совершавший налеты на чужие страны и вступавший в битву с богатырями-велинями (великанами). По сказаниям деда Степана Штепы, здесь, как и во всем Поднепровье, жили великаны, жили богатыри, жили, наконец, трехголовые Змии... Брошенные у берегов и среди Днепра Скалы — это дело богатырской потехи; сохранившиеся в скалах пещеры — это логовище чудовищных Змиев...

По рассказам 84-летнего рыбака Осипа Шутя, скоротавшего остаток лет на Хортице, остров этот знают старые люди всюду. В молодые годы бывал он на Донщине, за Кубанью, в Черномории, на рыбных косах Азовского моря, и куда его не бросала судьба, везде находил старых земляков, везде спрашивали его, что сталось с Хортицей, с порогами Днепра; живут ли там потомки запорожцев... В Черномории // седой старик спросил его: “Живет ли и поныне на Хортице Змий с тремя головами?” И когда он ответил “нет,” старик, покачав головою, заметил: “Правду кажеш, козаче: помандрував вин слидком за запорожцямы в Турещыну, звалував за ными и звир всякый...” Дед Осип, передавая рассказы о Змиях-богатырях, поясняет, что “во всем Запорожье жило три змия, из них один на острове Хортице, другой на острове Пурисовом, ниже порога Гадючего, где есть пещера, а третий, самый чудовищный и лютый Царь-Змий, — Змий над Змиями, — на острове Перун. Последний, говорят, имел два логовища: на Перуне и Стрельчьей скале, что близ порога Лахана. Все эти три Змея, летая по ночам, искарами крыльев освещали пороги и ночной путь Запорожцев... Змии жили как богатыри и вступали в битву только с богатырями. Они охотились на людей, одних только запорожцев не трогали, так как и между ними были богатыри и характерники...”

(Translation)

… Folk memory contains many accounts, legends and alike about the island of Khortytsia and its ravines, about the Dragon’s cave. According to the accounts of an old man Foka Horianets, upon the birth of Jesus Christ that very cave hosted a three-headed Tsar Dragon, who raided the foreign

lands and fought against the giant knights. According to the accounts of an old man Stephan Shtepa, here, [on the island of Khortytsi], and along the river Dnipro alike, giants, knights and three-headed dragons used to dwell…Those rocks thrown near the shore and in the midst of the river — the jests of the giants; the caves exist till now— used to be the lairs of monstrous dragons…

According to the accounts by an 84-year old fisherman Osyp Shut', who used to spend the rest of his days on the island of Khortytsia, the old people elsewhere have heard about this island. In his young years [Osyp Shut'] visited the lands of Don Cossacks, beyond the river of Kuban, the land of Black Sea Cossacks, on fishing enterprises on the Sea of Azov, and wherever fate had taken him he met old compatriots everywhere, who asked Osyp Shut' about the fate of Khortytsia, rapids of river Dnipro; as well as whether or not the descendants of Zaporozhian Cossacks continued living there… In the lands of Black Sea Cossacks the gray-bearded old man asked him: "Is there still a three-headed dragon living on Khortytsia?" And when Osyp Shut' answered "no," the old man shook his head and noted: "You, Cossack, are telling me the truth: that dragon followed Zaporozhian Cossacks on their way to [exile in] Turkey and many beasts left with them as well…" Speaking about the giant dragon the old man Osyp Shut' explained that "there were three dragons on the lands of Zaporozhian Host: one of them lived on the island of Khortytsia, another one lived on the island of Puris, below the Viper's rapids, where there is still a cave, and the third one, the most monstrous creature of them all, King Dragon — a master over the other dragons, — lived on the island of Perun. The latter dragon had reportedly had two lairs: on the island of Perun and on Strilcha skelia (cliff) near the rapid of Lakhan. All three of those dragons lit the rapids and nightly errands of the Cossacks with the sparks from their wings while flying in the night…Those dragons lived like knights and waged battles only against the knights. They preyed on people, but were wary of the Zaporozhian [Cossacks] for there were *knights* and *kharakternyky* among them…"

[Informant]: Osyp Shut', age 84, fisherman from Khortytsia, Katerynoslav guberniia

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostriv Khortytsia na Dnipri, ioho pryroda, istoriia, starozhytnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro, its nature, history and antiquities] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), pp. 10-11.

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Accounts about the mighty knight; Christian nature of the knights; knights and dragons (fragment)

О богатыряхъ

Багатыри живуть тамъ десь, де пущи, та стережуть хрыстиянську землю одъ змийивъ. Отто якый змий вырветьця зъ пущивъ, такъ багатыръ поженетьця за нымъ тай забье...

...У багатыря и кинь багатырськый. Разъ прибывсь такый кинь до табунщыкивъ, такъ шо вже воны ему не робылы; куды не заганялы...такъ перескоче и канатъ его ни якый неудерже. Так десь и подавсь...

Коня багатырови выйиздыть святый Юрий...

Багатырь якъ стойить коло пущивъ, такъ тоди ему коня потреба; а якъ вже поженетьця за змиемъ, такъ кинь самъ его знайде...

(Translation)

About knights

Knights live somewhere in the wilderness and guard the Christian lands from the dragons. If a dragon escapes from the wilderness then the knight would chase and slaughter it…

…Knights also have the knightly horses. Once upon a time such a horse joined the flock of other horses, but regardless of what the shepherds attempted, regardless of how they tried to catch it…this horse would overtake any barrier and there was no rope strong enough to hold him. So, this horse escaped…

Horses for the knights are trained by St. George himself…

Knights need those horses when they are guarding the wilderness; and when the knight is chasing the dragon at large, the horse would find [the dragon] on its own…

Reference: collected by Ivan Manzhura
Published: "Skazki, poslovitsy i t.p., zapisannye v Ekaterinoslavskoi hubernii I. I. Manzhuroiu" [Tales, proverbs and alike recorded in Ekaterinoslav guberniia by I. I. Manzhura], *Sbornik Kharkovskogo filologicheskogo obshchestva. Materialy dlia istorii kolonizatsii i byta Kharkovskoi i otchasti Kurskoi i*

Voronezhskoi gubernii (Kharkov: Tip. K. P. Schasni, 1890), pp. 8-9.

-21-

A Cossack is tricked by evil spirit; jocular story about a Cossack whose indulgence cost him a nightmare (fragment)

Мара

Разъ отаманъ пославъ козака чы зъ лыстомъ якымсь, чы що, ажъ до другого куриня. Отъ винъ сивъ на коня. Тай пойихавъ. Йиде, йиде степомъ и вже стало пизно. Колы шось у степу наче, мріе оддалекы, наче бованіе. Винъ узявъ и пойихавъ туды. Коли прыихавъ, ажъ дви вербы стоить серед степу по обоимъ бокамъ дорогы. Мижъ вербамы колыска и сыдыть у колысци дытына, хлопчыкъ такъ якъ-бы литъ семы, голе и кучеряве, и колыхается и прыговорюе: "ко-о-лыхъ! Ко-олыхъ!" —"Та чые ты есть?" —"А тоби яке дило?"...—"Ачъ бисове щеня! Якъ ты не будешъ отвичать мени, такъ я зъ рушныци на тебе буду стрилять." —"Отъ злякався я тебе дуже!.. Та й стріляй!"... Тоди козакъ каже: "э-э, такъ постій-же!" Винъ набывъ рушныцю кулею, завивъ рушницю кулею, излизъ изъ коня, та прыцилывся та тильки "бба-хъ!" А воно, та дытына, кида ему назадъ, у полы ту кулю: "На тоби ту кулю"... Тоди на ему чубъ такъ и пиднявся до горы... А шапка на ему такъ и пойихала!.. Винъ тоди давай тикать: а воно женется за нымъ... //

Колы дывытся, — далеко въ степу; такъ наче свитло (вогонь) свитытся у хати... и нема коло тіеи хаты ни тыночка кругомъ двору, ни хливця...ничого не було...Винъ убигъ у ту хату, — колы дывытся — у хати труна стоить закрыта, свитло горыть и никогисенько нема въ хати!.. Колы це труна открывается и встае зъ неи мертвякъ. Колы це вбига въ ту хату...хлопець, що гнався за казакомъ, тай каже тому мертвяку: "отакъ и отакъ: я гойдався на верби, а оцей козакъ...прыйихавъ до вербы конемъ...давай зо мною лаяться, а посли й ставъ стрилять на мене кулею зъ рушныци..." Отъ той мертвякъ, що выйшовъ зъ труны...якъ крыкне: "эй, уси мертвякы! А йдить сюди!..." Якъ зачалы сходытыся мертвякы въ хату! та повнисинька хата понаходила ихъ...

Отъ тоди той мертвякъ, хазяинъ тіеи хаты... пидійшовъ до того козака, та й каже ему: "колы хочешъ, щобъ ты жывый одъ насъ выйшовъ, такъ выпый одъ кожного зъ насъ по такій прыгорщи налывкы; а якъ не выпьешъ, такъ мы тебе тутъ по шматочку рознесемо..." Отъ той, ничого робыть...нахылывся до тый прыгорщи, тай ставъ пыть... //

...Той козакъ пье, а самъ уже й головы своеи не чуе...

Колы очумався винъ не скоро писля того, ажъ уже стало розвыднятыся; сонце сходе.

Подывывся винъ кругомъ себе, ажъ винъ на степу, а тій хаты нема... И высоко-высоко сыдыть винъ на верби и кинь его пасется на

степу не далеко одъ тыхъ вербъ... Винъ тоди скынувъ шапку, перехрестывся и сказавъ: “святъ, святъ, святъ, есы Господы!”

А то була мара. То була мара, тай обмарыла его. Винъ цилу ничъ на верби спавъ...

Пойихавъ винъ до куреня: отдавъ той лыстъ одъ отамана и вернувся впьять соби назадъ.

Записано Порфірієм Мартиновичем від
Созона Лукаша у 1879 році

(Translation)

The deceitful evil spirit

Once upon a time a Cossack Chieftain dispatched one of his Cossacks to deliver a letter or something to a different Cossack company. So, the Cossack mounted his horse and departed. He was riding and riding until it got late. Suddenly something became visible glowing in the darkness of the steppe. The Cossacks rode in that direction. There he found two willows, growing on both sides of the road. There was a swing stretched between those trees and in it a child, a boy of seven or so, naked and covered with curly hair, was swinging and saying: “S-w-i-n-g! S-w-i-n-g!” —“Whose child are you?” the Cossack asked. —“That’s none of your business,” the boy replied. —“You, devil’s son! If you will not answer I shall shoot you with my rifle,” the Cossack shouted. —“Oh, I am so scared! …Go on, shoot me!” Then the Cossack said: “O, I see, wait, I shall give you what you have been asking for!” So, that Cossack loaded his gun, dismounted, took an aim and shot “Bang!” And that thing, a child, threw that bullet to the Cossack sleeve saying: “Take this bullet back”… Awe raised hair on the Cossack’s head so that his cap began to move! ...The Cossack began running away and that thing was chasing him…//

Suddenly the Cossack saw something like a glowing light in the hut at a distance…and there was neither fence nor sty or stable around it… He ran inside the hut and saw a covered coffin and a candle, but nobody else inside!.. Suddenly the cover from the coffin opened and a dead person rose from it. At that very time the boy, who was chasing the Cossack, ran into the hut and told that corpse: “So and so, I was swinging on the willow and this Cossack…rode to the tree and started an argument with me and then shot me with his rifle…” At once the corpse that rose from the coffin shouted: “O, all dead that hear me! Report to me at once!”…Corpses began to enter the hut! and soon it was filled with them…

Then this the corpse – the master of this hut…approached the Cossack and told him as follows: “if you want to come out alive from our company you have to drink a handful of vodka from each of us; if not then we shall tear you into pieces ..." ...So, the Cossack had nothing else to do, he bowed to those hands and began to drink...//

...Well, that Cossack was drinking till his head went numb...

When he came back to his senses the first rays of sun already fell on the ground.

That Cossack looked around and saw himself in the midst of the wide-open steppe and not a sight of that hut ...And he was sitting high on the willow and his horse was grazing nearby...Upon this he took off the cap from his head, made the sign of cross and said: "Holy, Holy, Holy, art thou O Lord!"

It was a deceitful evil spirit he encountered last night, which tricked him and he was sleeping all night long on the branches of that willow tree...

He went to the company: gave that letter to the Chieftain and returned to his quarters again.

[Informant]: Sozon Lukash, 1879

Reference: collected by Porfyrii Martynovych.
Published: Porfyrii Martynovych, *Ukrains'ky zapysy* [Ukrainian records] (Kiev: Typ. Imperatorskago universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1906), pp. 191-193.

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Brave daughter of a Cossack is worthy of her father's pride (fragment)

Про Марусю— козацьку дочку

Въ одному селі живъ багатий козакъ. У его була дочка, хороша була дівчина на все село, та ще й покірна, свого батька поважала й слухала. Сватало її багато парубків...

Се царъ затіявъ войну, и стали брати некрутівъ (рекрутів)...також брали людей совсімъ немолодыхъ. Черга прийшла йти Марусиному батькові, а вінъ старый, нездужа, а переміняти нікому...а Маруся й каже:

—Тату, піду я за васъ у службу.

—Що ти росказуєшъ, дурна?.. Та ти молода— хто не схоче, той не скоче, той не познущається...пійду самъ: чи вбьють— убьють, а живий буду— вернусь...

—Якъ таки, тату, ти підешъ? Ти нездужаєшъ...

Довго батько не хотівъ ii відпускати...вона таки пішла...купивъ батько ій коня, справивъ одежу і відправивъ у полкъ, а той полкъ заразъ и погнали на війну...Маруся...мовъ проворній козакъ, и якъ прийшлось до діла...воювалась, такъ що и начальники ii запремітили ii....молода, статна та съ себе хороша, розъїжжає...махне шаблею, такъ голови и летять...

(Translation)

Marusia— the daughter of a Cossack

There in one village lived an affluent Cossack. He had a daughter, the most beautiful maiden in an entire village, obedient and respectful of her father. Many lads sought her hand in marriage…

Once upon a time a Tsar began a war and authorities began to draft recruits…also aged people were drafted. Then came the turn to Marusia's father, and he was old and sick, but there were no sons in the family to substitute him…so Marusia told him:

—Daddy, I will go to war in your stead.

—What are you talking about, you silly girl?.. You are young — anybody can abuse you… I shall go myself: if I am alive, then I shall return…

—But how can you go, daddy? You are ill...

Long after this her father refused to let her go…but she finally went…her father bought her a horse and a uniform and he saw her off to the regiment, and the regiment of hers was sent to a battle right away…Marusia was…like an agile Cossack and when time for action came…she fought like an agile Cossack that she got noticed …for she was young, of impressive stature and beauty, a good rider…cutting scores of the enemies' heads with one stroke of her saber…

Published: Pavel Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskostatisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai. Materialy i issledovaniia* [Records of ethnographic expedition to western Russia], vol. 2 (St.-Petersburg, 1878), pp. 92-95.

APPENDIX C: Cossack and Non-Cossack Individuals

-1-

Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's rebellion against Poland; Khmelnytsky is begging king to spare his life

Легенда о Богданѣ Хмѣльницкомъ

Хмельницкий первый піднявъ гайдамакъ. Написавъ такий листъ, що: "Гей! хто до мене пристане?" та й назбиравъ козаківъ. Якъ назбиравъ, то й почали різати Ляхівъ и Жидову. А якъ побачить було хорошу пані, або Жидівку, то змилуетця та й перехристить у свою віру. И панівъ перехрищувавъ... Отъ, якъ ставъ воевать, якъ ставъ воевать, то повоевавъ Ляхівъ ажъ по Случъ; одіславъ військо додому, а надъ Случчу поставивъ вітрянии барабани. Що подме вітеръ, то Ляхи думають, що у козацькому війську въ труби грають, да й боятця йти за Случъ. А Хмельницький тимъ часомъ бачить, що багацько лиха наробивъ, та взявъ да й полізъ до короля прохати милости. А король нарядивъ одинадцять катівъ у королівське платтє, а самъ дванадцятий // ставъ. Якъ прилізе Хмельницький до якого ката, заразъ ему голову одтять. Отъ же Хмельницький не полізъ и до одного ката, да прямо до короля. Прилізъ до его рачки и впавъ у ноги. То король піднявъ его за голову та й сказавъ: "Ой ти, сваволышку! Багацько ти невиннихъ душъ занапастивъ!"

(Translation)

A Legend about Bohdan Khmelnytsky

Khmelnytsky was the first who agitated the *haidamaky* (the rebels — *R. S.*) against the Poles. He wrote a letter saying: "Hey! Who is willing to join me?" and assembled many Cossacks. Then they started mowing down Poles and Jews. And if they encountered a beautiful lady or a Jewish [woman or maiden], then Khmelnytsky would spare them and baptize them. He also had Polish lords baptized [as Greek Orthodox]…

So, when Khmelnytsky began his campaign, he chased the Poles beyond the river of Sluch; then he sent his host home and he erected windpowered drums over the river. Wherever wind blew, the Poles were thinking that that noise was made by the trumpets of the Cossack host, and did not dare to cross Sluch.

And Khmelnytsky in the meantime notices that he did many evil things and he went to ask for a pardon from the King. And the Polish King, while waiting for Khmelnytsky to come, ordered eleven executioners to be dressed in royal garments and joined them // in the row of twelve. Were Khmelnytsky to approach one of the executioners first, then they would execute [Khmelnytsky] by beheading him. But Khmelnytsky did not approach the executioners and went directly to the King. He crawled towards the King and fell before him. So, the King raised Khmelnytsky's head and said: "A rebel, you! You caused so many deaths [with your uprising!]"

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 114-115.

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A fragment of an account about Bohdan Khmelnytsky taking all of his Cossacks' wealth when they reached the westernmost borders of the Cossack lands

Хмельницкій надъ Случью

...Якъ ставъ Хмельницький надъ Случчу, на горі, то обобравъ свое військо такъ, що не зосталось у козаківъ грошей ні въ кишеняхъ, ні зашитихъ.

(Translation)

[Bohdan] Khmelnytsky over the river Sluch

…When [the Cossack troops of] Khmelnytsky encamped over the river Slúch, on the hill, he took everything from his army, that no money was left for the Cossacks either in their pockets or hidden in their garments.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 148.

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The cause and the beginning of uprising under Bohdan Khmelnytsky

Хмельницкій въ Запорожской Сѣчи

...Та й поіхавъ у Січъ тимъ бокомъ Дніпра. Приіхавъ до Січи, ажъ тамъ стоіть жовнірство и бере одъ козаківъ десяту рибу. Отъ Хмельницкій, показавши тайно Запорозцямъ королевський листъ, усовітовавъ імъ, якъ збути жовнірівъ: "Я," каже, "вийду на майданъ та й зачну кричати: *У раду! въ раду! // въ раду!* а ви візьмите підъ полу по дрючку, и якъ жовніри прийдуть безъ шабель у раду, то ви на іхъ зъ дрючками да всіхъ и перебийте."

Такъ и сталось. Да потімъ якъ пішовъ воевати Хмельницький, то розбивъ Ляхівъ и на Жовтій Воді, и коло Корсуня, та загнавъ ажъ за Случъ, та й сказавъ: "*Знай, Ляше, по Случъ наше!*"

(Translation)

[Bohdan] Khmelnytsky in Zaporozhian Sich

…Khmelnytsky rode to the Sich along the other bank of Dnipro and he arrived at the Sich, and there were stationed [Polish] soldiers, who were taxing the Cossacks by claiming every tenth fish that was caught. So, Khmelnytsky, secretly showing the King's letter (about the privileges to the Cossacks — *R. S.*) only to the Cossacks, advised them on how to get rid of the Polish garrison: "I shall go down to the central square and start shouting: *To the council! To the council! To the council!* And each of you, upon hearing my call, must take and hide sticks under your sleeves, and when the disarmed soldiers come to the council then you will beat them down with those sticks."

And so it happened. And afterwards, Khmelnytsky began his campaign and defeated the Poles at Zhovti Vody and Korsun, and chased them beyond the river Sluch and said: "*Beware, Poles, our land stretches up to the Sluch!*"

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 275-276.

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Cossacks as tricksters; played tricks on Khmelnytsky

Плата Хмѣльницкаго за плѣнныхъ

Якъ воевавъ Хмельницкій зъ Ляхами, то всякому, хто піймае Ляха, обіщавъ давать за кожного по рублю, а за ксенза по три копи. То, як піймае було козакъ Ляха, то виголить ему на голові лисину та й скаже: "Гляди жъ ти мині, вражий Ляше! тілько скажешъ, що ти не ксензъ, то заразъ духъ съ тебе вонъ!" //

Отъ и приведе до Хмельницького.

"Хто ти такий?"

"Ксензъ."

То Хмельницький вийме съ кишені три копи та й дасть.

(Translation)

[Bohdan] Khmelnytsky's reward for the Polish prisoners

When Khmelnytsky was fighting against the Poles, he promised any Cossack who would catch a Pole, a rouble, and almost twice as much (one rouble and 80 kopers) for a Roman Catholic priest. So, when a Cossack caught a Pole, then he would tonsure the captive and say: "Beware, you cursed Pole! If you tell [Khmelnytsky] that you are not a priest then it is "good-bye" to your soul!" //

So, a Cossack would bring his captive to Khmelnytsky.

"What are you?"

"A priest."

Then Khmelnytsky would take the double reward from his pocket and give it to the Cossack.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 276-277.

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Prior to the Khmelnytsky's uprising Jews kept the Orthodox churches locked; explanation of what caused the uprising

Жидовскіе откупы до Хмельницкаго

Було колись такъ — ище передъ Хмельнищиною — що церковні ключі були въ Жида. Якъ чого треба до церкви, то йди вже до Жида да торгуйся, що вінъ візьме. То зъ того-то й лихо счалося.

(Translation)

Jewish ransom before the uprising by Khmelnytsky

Once upon a time — before the uprising of Khmelnytsky — Jews kept the keys for the [Ukrainian Orthodox churches]. If one needed to go to church, then he would have to negotiate the price with a Jew. That was what caused all future calamities.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), p. 166.

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Khmelnytsky as a shrewd Cossack leader and a trickster

Хмельницкій и Барабашъ

Стали Ляхи дуже вже налягать на козаківъ. Прийшло іхъ у Запорожжа по два Ляхи на одного козака. То козаки слали до короля листи, що такі намъ збитки роблять, що не можна ніякъ прожити. Такъ король и давъ імъ права. А Барабашъ сховавъ та // нікому й не показавъ. Отъ Ляхи козаками й орудують. А Хмельницький був при Барабашеві за писаря въ Чигирині. Самъ у Суботові сидівъ, а туди іздивъ на писарство. Отъ, якъ родилась у Хмельницького дитина, то вінъ кумомъ узявъ гетьмана. Якъ же впоівъ гетьмана добре, тоді винявъ у его зъ кишені хустку, и перстень зъ руки знявъ, та й посилае до Чигирина свого джуру. “Два коні бери на біжи въ Чигиринъ по права!”

Приіжджае той джура до гетьманши: “Пані! заілись изъ гетьманомъ наші, — порубають; такъ дайте тиі права, що одъ короля!”

“Оттамъ же,” каже, “вони въ стані підъ ворітьми, въ глухімъ кінці у пуздерку, въ землі.”

Просипаетця гетьманъ: “Ой куме,” каже, “куме! була въ мене хустка въ кишені, а теперъ нема! бувъ у мене перстень щирозлотий на руці, а теперъ нема!” //

“То,” каже, “мій хлопець роздягавъ тебе, якъ клавъ у ліжко, то повиймавъ.”

А самъ усе позирае въ вікно. Коли жъ гляне гетьманъ, ажъ хлопець повівъ у станю коня такого, що тілько— хахъ, ха, хха, хха! Тоді вже й постерігъ, що Хмельницькій посилавъ по права.

“Ой Хмелю,” каже, “Хмелику!
Вчинивъ еси ясу
И поміжъ панами велику трусу.
Лучче було бъ тобі брать сукна не мірячи,
А гроші не лічачи;
Лучче бъ було тобі съ панами добре поживати,
Аніжъ теперъ по лугахъ Базалугахъ потирати,
Комарівъ, якъ ведмедівъ, годовати!”

Гетьманъ же іде додому, а вони съ хлопцемъ, коней сідлають та ідуть у Січъ. Приіхали; вдарили въ котли; зибрались козаки. Вінъ вичитавъ одинъ указъ— не слухають; вичитавъ // другий — не слухають; та вже якъ третій прочитавъ, тоді всі й стали на баталію.

(Translation)

Khmelnytsky and Barabash

Once upon a time, the Poles began to oppress the Cossacks mercilessly. There were twice as many Poles as Cossacks that came to Zaporozhzha (the lands of the Cossacks beyond the rapids — *R. S.*). So, the Cossacks wrote letters to the Polish King saying that the Polish soldiers caused the Cossacks so heavy a burden that it led to Cossacks' ruin. Well, the King issued "privileges" to them. And [the acting Hetman of the Cossacks] Barabash hid those "privileges" // without showing them to anybody. So, the Poles continued oppressing the Cossacks. At that time Khmelnytsky was the secretary of Barabash, in his residence in Chyhyryn. Khmelnytsky lived in his manor at Subotiv and went to Chyhyryn where he served as secretary. Once, when Khmelnytsky fathered a son, he invited Hetman Barabash to be the godparent to his new born child. As soon as Khmelnytsky had the Hetman heavily intoxicated, he snatched the Hetman's kerchief out of the Hetman's pocket and the ring off his finger and dispatched a servant to Chyhyryn. "Take two horses and ride swiftly to Chyhyryn and bring those privileges to me!"

That servant rode to the Hetman's wife: "Mistress! Our Cossacks began a quarrel with the Hetman, — they might slay him with sabers; so give us those privileges that the King issued to us, to avert this danger!"

"Over there," she said, "they are buried under the gates, in the dark corner of the stable, hidden in the jewelry box."

The Hetman woke up: "O, fellow godfather," he said, "brother! I remember that I had a kerchief in my pocket and a golden ring on my finger, and now they are gone!" //

"My servant helped to undress you before taking you to your bed, so he removed them."

And while saying, that Khmelnytsky was looking in the window. The Hetman also took a look and saw the servant taking his exausted horse to the stable! Ha-Ha-Ha! Only then, Barabash realized that Khmelnytsky snatched the King's "privileges":

"O, Khmel, dear Khmel," he said
You started a mutiny
And great havoc among the nobility.
Would it be better not to do this and enjoy
The precious garments and money without a count;
Would it be better not to be in peace with the nobles,
Then to be hiding in the valleys of Bazavluh,
Feeding the mosquitoes with your own blood!"

The Hetman Barabash went home and Khmelnytsky, with a servant, harnessed their steeds and rode to the Sich. He came there, and beat the drums, and assembled the Cossacks. One time Khmelnytsky read the text of the King's memorandum— nobody paid attention; second // time he read it— nobody paid attention; when he read it the third time, the Cossacks rose and got ready for battle.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 166-169.

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The crimes of Yurii Khmelnytsky and his punishment by eternal sufferings by God's will

Преступленія и казнь Юрія Хмѣльницкаго

Хмельниченко побусурманившись збивъ пушкою зъ гори Валка верхъ зъ батьківськоі церкви, хотячи довідатись батьківськихъ грошей, що, кажуть, були замуровані на горищі, на церкві. Вінъ би то прийшовъ за ними й до Суботова, та боявся, бо тутъ стояло військо; то вже зъ злості хотівъ розбити церкву.

Хмельниченко живе ще й досі. Наші стариі чумаки розсказували, що бачили его въ горахъ на своі очи, и самъ вінъ казавъ, що: "Я синъ Хмельницького." Его ссе гадина, и вінъ буде мучатись // и блукати поміжъ горами ажъ до Страшного Суду, а тогді вже Господь его простить, що побусурманивсь и хотівъ розбить батьківську церкву.

(Translation)

The crimes and punishment of Yurii Khmelnytsky

The son of [Bohdan] Khmelnytsky went over to the Moslems (betrayed his faith — *R. S.*) and hit the dome of his father's church with a cannon [ball] from the top of Mount Valka, in order to find his father's money, reportedly hidden in the dome of that church.

He would have come for the money, even to Subotiv, were he not afraid of the army quartered there; so in his rage, he wanted to destroy the church.

Khmelnytsky's son is still alive. Our old wandering traders told me that they saw him with their own eyes, in the mountains, and he confirmed himself saying: "I am Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's son." A viper sucks his blood and he will suffer // and will wander into the mountains till Doomsday, and only then God will pardon his going over to the Moslems, and his wanting to destroy his father's church.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 277-278.

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Zaporozhian Cossacks' Chieftain Ivan Sirko as kharakternyk

Кошовий Іван Сірко

—Хто ж воно був той Сірко?

—Кошовий такий. Він такий був, що дещо знав. Оце, бувало, вийде із куреня та й гука на свого хлопця: "Ану, хлопче, возьми пістоль, стань отам та стріляй мені в руку!"

Той хлопець візьме пістоль та тільки — бу-у-ух! йому в руку.

А він візьме в руки кулю, здаве її та назад і кине.

Вони, ті запорожці, всі були знайовиті...

Записано Дмитром Яворницьким від старого діда Грицька Тарана у с. Микитино на Катеринославщині (1896)

(Translation)

Chieftain Ivan Sirko

—What kind of a person was Cossack Chieftain Sirko?

—He was a Chieftain. He was a sorcerer. Once in a while, he would come out of his hut and call for his adjutant: "Come on, lad, take a pistol, stand over there and shoot me in the arm!"

That lad would raise his hand with a pistol and — b-a-n-g! [put a bullet right through Chieftain Sirko's] arm.

And Sirko would take that bullet and squeeze it in his hand and throw it back.

All of those Zaporozhian Cossacks were wizards…

[Informant]: old man Hrytsko Taran from the village of Mykytyno in Katerynoslav region (1896)

Reference: collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky

Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O. I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), p. 193.

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Zaporozhian Cossacks' Chieftain Ivan Sirko as an invincible enchanted warrior-sorcerer

II

Сірко великий воїн був. Той знав, хто що й подума. Ото там, по тім боці Дніпра, були татари, магомет жив. Та як задумають вони, було, воювать, то Сірко і каже козакам:

— Собирайтесь докупи, бо на нас уже орда піднімається!

Він сильний такий був, що як хто шаблею ударить по руці, так і кожі не розруба— тілько синє буде. Не то що кулею, а шаблею! Уже татари які міри против нього робили, так нічого не зробили. Вони його шайтаном так і прозвали...

Записано Дмитром Яворницьким від 82-річного діда Д. Биковського у с. Микитино на Катеринославщині (1898)

(Translation)

Sirko was a great warrior. He could read thoughts in one's head. So, over there, on the other side of the river Dnipro the Tatars used to live, all Moslems. As soon as they devised to go into the war, Sirko would tell Cossacks:

—Assemble the troops for the horde is rising against us!

He was so strong that if anybody struk his arm with a saber, he would not cut even the skin on Sirko's arm— only blue marks would remain. And that would be done not with a bullet, but with a saber! Regardless of what those Tatars were plotting to do to him, they would not succeed. That is why they were calling him Satan...

[Informant]: Dmytro Bykovsky, 82 years of age, village Mykytyno in Katerynoslav region (1898)

Reference: collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky
Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O. I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), p. 193.

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Zaporozhian Cossacks' Chieftain Ivan Sirko as kharakternyk

III

Давно, дуже давно це було, ще за запорожців та за кошового Сірка. Пройшло чимало років, як жив Сірко, і хоч його не стало, а слава його не пройшла і не пропала. Він був на ворогів страшний і немилостивий, а для християн— напроти, був дуже добрий.

Один раз запорожці пішли з Сірком у похід, а татари прочули про те та зразу набігли на Січ, та й почали там хазяйнувати. Як // хотіли, так і хазяйнували: усіх православних християн забрали та й повели в полон. Женуть їх, а вони, бідні, не хочуть йти й плачуть, та ридають так, що аж земля стогне. А татари на плач не вдаряють та нагайками їх підганяють. Якось прочув про те кошовий Сірко. Зараз і кинувсь з козаками в погоню за татарами, визволяти християн. Та летить, як птиця! Добіг близько до татар, та баче, що їх дуже багато, а козаків дуже мало, і давай хитриться: спинив свого коня та й крикнув до козаків:

—А стійте, братця, підождіть, не ворушіться!

Ті спинились, стоять, не ворушаться. Він тоді скочив з коня, дав його другому козакові, а сам— кувирдь! та й зробився хортом і побіг до татар. Татари бачуть— хорт, та красивий такий, дуже подобався він їм. Узяли вони його, нагодували, приручили до себе. А як стали ті татари оддихати, то той хорт поробив їм так, що вони поснули. Тоді він назад, до козаків, та знов— кувирдь! і вп'ять зробився чоловіком. Кинувсь тоді з козаками на татар, усіх їх вирубав, а християн вернув назад, на городи.

Християни дуже подякували Сіркові та й пішли собі додому щасливо, а Сірко з своїми козаками став гуляти по-прежньому.

Записано Дмитром Яворницьким від 63-річного діда Х. Добруна у с. Капулівка Катеринославського повіту (1895)

(Translation)

This happened long, long ago, during the time when the Zaporozhian Cossacks and their Chieftain Sirko had lived. And even though many years have passed since Sirko's death, the rumors of his glorious deeds

are still alive. He was ruthless and terrible with his enemies and a very kind person with Christians.

Once upon a time, the Cossacks went to battle under Sirko's leadership, and the Tatars, upon hearing about this, attacked the Sich and took it over. They // did what they wanted to do: capturing all the Orthodox Christians and taking them into captivity. The Tatars were chasing the captives and those poor folks were crying for they did not want to go into captivity, crying so hard that the earth was moaning. But the Tatars did not feel pity for their weeping and were chasing the captives with whips. Somehow, the Chieftain Sirko learned about that. At once, he and his Cossacks rushed to overtake the Tatars and free the Christians. Sirko was riding as fast as a bird! Upon catching up with the Tatars, Sirko saw that they were too many for so few of his Cossacks, and resorted to a trick: he halted his steed and shouted to the Cossacks: —Halt, brethren, wait and do not move! They halted and stood still. Sirko dismounted his steed and told a Cossack to hold it. Then Sirko changed his form into a hound and ran towards the Tatars. Tatars saw the hound and came to liking such a nice dog. They invited and fed the hound and left it in their encampment. And when Tatars rested, that hound made them fall fast asleep. Then [Sirko as a hound] ran towards his Cossacks and turned back into a man again. Then he, with his Cossacks, rushed against the Tatars and slew all of them, and sent the liberated Christians back home to their towns. The Christians thanked Sirko and went home happily, and Sirko, together with his Cossacks, returned to their old ways of life.

[Informant]: Kh. Dobrun, 63 years of age, village of Kapulivka in Katerynoslav county (1895)

Reference: collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky; original record is being preserved in IMFE, fund 8-K2, descry. 3, pp. 50-50 reverse (from personal archive of D. Iavornytsky.)

Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O.I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), pp. 193-194.

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Zaporozhian Cossacks' Chieftain Ivan Sirko as kharakternyk

IV

Він по-справжньому не Сірко, а Сірентій Праворучник звався. Як умирав Сірентій, то дав такий заповіт, щоб у нього одрізали праву руку та аж сім год возили її за собою:

—Коли я вмру, то одніміть у мене праву руку і возіть її з собою сім год. І куди ви будете повертати, там буду й я воювати. Якщо будете возити мою руку, то ще права рука моя буде вами руководствувати. А як сім год пройде, то ви одкопайте мене та приложіть мою руку мені в мою труну.

Ото ж Сірентія рука й ходила аж сім год по військах. А на восьмому році розкопали Сірентія та й приложили до нього праву руку, як вона була. Так ото він через те не Сірко, а Сірентій Праворучник.

—А як обсадите могилу округ деревами, то буде вам од мене велика заплата; а як порушите мою могилу, то буде вам од мене велика пригода.

І справді, ця могила Сірентія робити коло неї не дасть, ніяк не дасть. Орав тут якось один чоловік на трьох парах волів та до неї наблизивсь. Так усі пари його волів як уплутались до купи та так збились, що ніяк не можна було їх розтягти. Збіглись усі люди з села—аж ніяк не можна. А він тільки й того, що до неї наблизивсь.

Записано Дмитром Яворницьким від 72-річного діда Т. І. Забутнього у с. Капулівка Катеринославського повіту (біля могили Івана Сірка) (1895)

(Translation)

Really his name was not "Sirko," but "Sirentii the Righthanded." When Sirentii was dying, his last will was that [his Cossacks] had his right arm cut off and they were to carry it [to battles] for seven years:

—When I die then cut off my right arm and carry it with you for seven years. And wherever you go, I shall be with you. If you were to carry my arm, my "master arm" will lead you into battle. And after seven years, excavate my body and put my arm into my coffin.

So, Sirentii's arm was with his Cossacks for seven years. When the eighth year came, the Cossacks exhumed Sirentii and attached his arm to

where it had been before. So, that is why his name was not Sirko, but Sirentii the Righthanded.

—And if you surround my mound with trees, then I shall repay you for your good deeds; but if you were to desecrate my tomb, then I shall also repay you in a different fashion.

Indeed, Sirentii's tomb will never allow anybody to work around it. Once a man was plowing with three pairs of bulls and approached the burial mound. So, the harnesses on those bulls got twisted, so that no one could separate the beasts. People from the entire village came there, but failed to accomplish anything. And that person just approached Sirko's mound.

[Informant]: old man T. I. Zabutnii, 72 years of age, village of Kapulivka, Katerynoslav county (near the Sirko's mound) (1895)

Reference: collected by Dmytro Iavornytsky; original record is being preserved in IMFE, fund 8-K2, descry. 3, pp. 49-49 reverse (from personal archive of D. Iavornytsky.)

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Chieftain Semen Palii as a folk hero and Hetman Ivan Mazepa as an anti-hero

Легенда о Мазепѣ и Паліи

Мазепа боявся Палія, щобъ вінъ его не звоевавъ, та взявъ его да й замурувавъ у стовбъ у такий, що тілько маленьке віконце, а то ввесь замурований; и якъ хто подасть у те віконце шматокъ хліба, то тілько вінъ и живъ. Отъ, замуровавши Палія, и ставъ Мазепа воевать зъ Царемъ. А тогді ще Московськоі землі бувъ тілько одинъ рукавъ та й годі. А се вже теперъ такъ Государь розжився: давъ Господь милосердний, що позавоевувавъ собі и городівъ, и земель. А тогді Московськоі землі було тілько такъ, // якъ на рукавъ. Отъ зовсімъ уже Мазепа одоліває Царя. А Царь якъ дочувсь, що въ такімъ и такімъ містечку замурованъ у стовбъ Палій, заразъ, пославъ такихъ, що розруйновали геть чисто той стовбъ. Отъ, якъ випустили Палія, то вінъ ажъ тремтить увесь, такъ ослабъ. То Царь мусивъ прохати у Мазепи на дванадцять день згоди, поки одхаявъ Палія. А якъ одхаявъ, то Палій сівъ на коня да объіхавъ кругомъ Мазепине військо, да якъ поставивъ оттакъ ратище, то імъ здалось, що то лісъ стоітъ. Отъ вони и почали іхаті черезъ той лісъ, схиляючись; а Палієви козаки давай рубать імъ голови. А Мазепа постеріг, що лихо, да якъ ударить у тарабани: "Гей, братці, втікайте, бо ще старий собака живъ!"

(Translation)

A Legend about Mazepa and Palii

Mazepa was afraid of Palii overcoming him in battle, so Mazepa took Palii and confined him to a pillar, which had only a small window and otherwise was [totally] incarcerated; only from time to time, loafs of bread from kind people kept Palii alive in his prison.

So, upon Palii's imprisonment, Mazepa began the war against the Tsar. And back then there was not much to the Muscovite state. It is only now that our ruler increased his domain: our Gracious Lord allowed the Tsar to capture enough of the cities and lands. And back then, there was not much of a Muscovite land, // merely a sleeve and that's that.

So, Mazepa was completely winning over the Tsar. And the Tsar, upon hearing where Palii lived in confinement, at once dispatched people to destroy that pillar and to deliver Palii. So, when [they] liberated Palii, he was

shaking because of feebleness. So, the Tsar was forced to seek a twelve-day truce with Mazepa, until Palii regain his strength. And when Palii regained it, he mounted his steed and circled around Mazepa's army and erected a spear so that the soldiers of Mazepa's host imagined a thick forest in front of them. Well, when they were riding through that "forest" bowing their heads [to avoid the branches of those "trees"] Palii's Cossacks began to chop their heads off. Upon seeing this debacle, Mazepa ordered the drummers to beat retreat: "Hey, brethren, run away for that old cunny dog of Palii is still alive!"

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 115-116.

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Hetman Ivan Mazepa and Tsar Peter I (fragment)

Вторая легенда о Мазепѣ

У Мазепи родився синъ. Царь Петро бувъ кумомъ. Отъ, якъ уже були на підпитку, то Петро и призвавъ до себе козака Степана Плаху. [А той Степанъ Плаха такий бувъ чоловікъ, що знавъ усе, що буде напередъ за сто літъ].

“Скажи,” каже, “Степане Плахо, що зо мною буде?”

“А отъ що зъ тобою буде, Царю,” каже Плаха: “черезъ тридцять рікъ твій хрищеникъ воеватиме на тебе.”

“Брешешъ, Степане!” каже Петро: “чи можна, щобъ мое дитя підняло на мене руки?”

Да й звелівъ забить Плаху въ кайдани и посадить у темницю... // А Мазепенко тимъ часомъ росте, и, скоро сповнилось ему тридцять літъ, заразъ зібравъ свою ватагу— гайда въ степъ! да й забушовавъ. “Гей,” каже, “Царю! давай на погуляннє!” Петро жахнувся: знавъ, що ніякою силою не одоліе. Мазепа бо сей такий бувъ ломусъ, що поставивъ пушку на долоні та якъ стреливъ изъ Бикова, то досягъ ажъ у Остеръ и розбивъ у Острі церкву...

Узяли Царя Петра думки та гадки; сумуе на столиці, не може жадноі ради приложити. Коли жъ де взявсь старий салдатъ: “А що,” каже, “Царю! бачъ теперъ, що правду казавъ Степанъ Плаха?”... //

То Петро ажъ за голову вхопивсь: “Заразъ, заразъ випустить его зъ темниці!”...

Отто заразъ розбили на ему кайдани, понесли на носилкахъ до Петра, бо куди вже самому ему йти!. Принесли до Царя, то Царь ажъ слізми вмився. “Прости,” каже, “мене, Степане, за твою обиду!..”

...То Плаха тогді: “Не журись, Царю; визволю тебе зъ біди, дай тілько мині вигулятьця на волі.”

Отъ і пішовъ гулять. Пье день, пье другий, пье третій; и якъ вигулявсь, то бере зъ собою одинадцять козаківъ, а самъ // дванадцятий, та й гайда въ степъ. Скоро забачивъ Мазепенкову ватагу, заразъ узявъ та й объіхавъ іі кругомъ. Якъ объіхавъ, то козаки Мазепенкови мовъ подуріли и стали одинъ одного колоть да рубать. А Мазепенко навтікача; а Степанъ Плаха съ козаками за нимъ. Скоро настигъ, заразъ его и проколовъ списомъ. Тілько то бісова тварь! Изожравъ один списъ, изожравъ другий...и такъ усі одинадцять списівъ поівъ; та вже якъ ударивъ его Плаха своімъ дванадцятимъ, тогді вже ему й капутъ. А потімъ узявъ Степанъ Плаха Мазепенка, спаливъ та й попелъ по степу розвіявъ.

Отъ за того-то вражого Мазепенка розгнівався дуже Царь Петро на Вкраіну. Заразъ шле указъ, щобъ рубали въ пень увесь народъ...

А тутъ усюди въ труби та въ жоломійки смутно та жалібно вигравають, а по церквахъ молебни правлять, щобъ одвернувъ Господь гнівъ царський... Ажъ ось шле Петро другий указъ: велить всімъ голови здиймать... // ...а по церквахъ молебні правлять, щобъ помилововавъ Господь невинниі души.

Коли жъ шле Петро третій указъ: прощае ввесь народъ. Тогді вже всюди скоки та музики. Звеселився ввесь людъ Християнський.

(Translation)

The second legend about Mazepa

Once upon a time, Mazepa had fathered a son. Tsar Peter the First was godfather to that child. Once, when they were really drunk, Peter called after the Cossack, Stephan Plakha. [And that Stephan Plakha was such a man that could have foreseen everything for a hundred years to come].

"Tell me, Stephan Plakha," Tsar Peter said, "what awaits me?"

"There is an answer to this question, too, o Tsar," Plakha responded: "in thirty years the child you baptized will be waging war against you."

"You are a liar, Stephan!" Peter said: "how could that be that the child of my own would turn against me?"

So, the Tsar ordered Plakha to be chained and confined in prison… // And in due course the son of Mazepa was coming to force, and when he turned thirty, he assembled an army— and went to the steppes! And he turned antagonistic. "Hey," the son of Mazepa said, "Tsar! Come and face me in battle!" Peter was frightened: he knew that no force he could muster would be enough to overwhelm young Mazepa. Young Mazepa was such a mighty knight, that upon placing cannon on the palm of his hand, he could shoot from Bykiv and destroy the church at Oster…

[Heavy] thoughts filled Tsar Peter's head; he became saddened in his capital without seeing any way out. And an old soldier told the Tsar: "So, o Tsar," he said, "now you see that Stephan Plakha was telling you the truth, do you not?"… //

Peter jumped up at once holding his head: "At once let Plakha from the prison!.."

Well, [the Tsar's servants] unchained Plakha and brought him lying on the stretches before the Tsar for how could Plakha walk on his own!.. They brought him before the Tsar, and the Tsar cried: "Forgive me, Stephan," Tsar Peter said, "for I made you suffer without a cause!.."

…So, Plakha said upon this: "Do not worry, o Tsar; I shall deliver you from this mishap just allow me to find some rest first."

So, Plakha went on feasting. He drank on the first day, on the second and on the third; and when he got satisfied, he summoned eleven Cossacks, and being himself the twelfth // he rode to the steppe. Soon he spotted Mazepa's army and circled around them while riding his steed. As soon as Plakha did that, Mazepa's son's Cossacks became possessed and began piercing and cleaving one another. And the son of Mazepa rode away fleeing; Stephan Plakha and his detail took after him. They caught up with the fugitive very fast and pierced him with a spear. But young Mazepa was the devil's beast! He grinded on one spear, on another one…and this way young Mazepa consumed all eleven spears in total; but the thrust of Plakha with the twelfth spear brought the end to young Mazepa.

And then Stephan took young Mazepa, burned his corpse and threw his ashes throughout the steppe.

Because of that cursed young Mazepa, the Tsar turned against Ukraine fervently. At once he dispatched the order to massacre all of the Ukrainian people…

And in Ukraine, people played sad melodies on trumpets and pipes, serving the services of deliverance in the churches, asking the Lord to avert the Tsar's rage from the people of Ukraine… And Peter dispatched the second order: ordering to massacre all of the people… // … and the services of deliverence were served in the churches asking Lord to have mercy upon the sinless souls.

At once, Peter dispatched the third order: he pardoned the entire people of Ukraine. Dances and music followed this announcement. All of the Christian people cheered upon hearing this announcement.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 117-121.

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Chieftain Semen Palii as a folk hero and Hetman Ivan Mazepa as an anti-hero (fragment)

Третья легенда о Мазепѣ и Паліи

Бувъ-то такий Мазепа, такий-то гетьманъ, що й Царь его батюшкой звавъ. А Кочубей да Искра довідались, що вінъ хоче зъ Шведомъ бить на восточного Царя, та й пішли до Царя до восточного: "Эй," кажуть, "Царю восточний! хоче Мазепа на тебе бить." А Царь не понявъ віри. "Чи можна," каже, "щобъ вінъ на мене бивъ?" ...

Тількі що вони одішли, ажъ біжить гонець до Царя: "Становитця," каже, "на баталію, ато Мазепа битиме на васъ!" //

...Ото, якъ ставъ бить Мазепа на Царя, то Богъ знае, що й робить. Ажъ на розділъ на церкву постягувавъ у Батурині пушки да бивъ. Такъ избивъ, що вже...такъ наше військо завертілося, що пропадать да й тілько! Царь бідкаетця. "Чи нема," каже, "въ нашому царстві такого чоловіка, щобъ знавъ, якъ одолітъ Мазепу?.."...

А одинъ старий Запорожець осмиливсь та й каже: "...у насъ есть такий, Палій Семенъ"... //

А Царь каже: "Нема Палія, страчений."

"Ни, Царю, живъ, тілько на Сибері"...Примчали до Царя: "Эй," каже, "Палію...! отъ царство втратимъ!"

А вінъ каже: "Не бійсь, коли я заіду, що ще буде по-нашому."

Ото заразъ ему істи.

"Ні," каже, "нехай задзвонять до служби Божоі..."

"Теперъ," каже, "давайте мині коня!"... "Ні," каже, "Царю, нема въ тебе такого коня"...//

... "Пустітъ мене въ козацьке військo, то я собі виберу коня."

Пійшовъ у козацьке військо; гляне, ажъ его конемъ воду везуть. Вінъ ажъ заплакавъ: "Я," каже, "въ неволі, и кінь мій у неволі!" Сівъ на коня, то кінь підъ нимъ, такъ якъ орелъ!..

А Палій такий лицаръ бувъ, що не вольшебствомъ, а ангельскимъ чиномъ воевавъ, — такий, що іздитъ по чужòму війську — ніхто его й не бачить; а якъ гляне кому въ вічі, то зъ-роду не видержить... //

Ідуть...а Запорозці сидять да въ карти гуляють. А Палій каже: "Здорові, пани молодці! чи будемъ битьця, чи будемъ миритьця?" А одинъ Запорожець каже: "Се Палій поіхавъ!" ...

А Мазепа одъ Палія бувъ навченъ. Такъ Царь каже: "Що жъ Палію? ти ему нічого не зробишъ, бо й вінъ одъ тебе навченъ."

"Hi," каже, "Царю, хочъ вінъ и навченъ одъ мене, да я ему не сказавъ усіеі правди."

Отъ и взявъ заряжать пушки навхресть: та туди, а та туди... "Теперъ," каже, "стріляйте..." Якъ ударили...и погнали Мазепу...//

Такъ хотівъ за Мазепу усю Гетьманщину вигубить... А вінъ каже:... "Не плюндруй," каже, "Гетьманщини."

"Ну," каже, "добре; для тебе дарую."

(Translation)

The third legend about Mazepa and Palii

Once upon a time there lived Hetman Mazepa, who was called "father" by the Russian Tsar. Kochubei and Iskra learned that, together with the Swedes, Mazepa wanted to attack the eastern (Russian — *R. S.*) Tsar and went to the eastern Tsar saying: "Look," they said, "a Tsar of the eastern domain! Mazepa wants to attack you." But the Tsar did not believe them: "How is it possible," the Tsar responded, "that he wants to attack me?"…

As soon as Kochubei and Iskra left, the envoy came running towards the Tsar: "Assume the battle order," the envoy said, "or Mazepa will attack you!" //

…So, when Mazepa began to attack the Tsar, only God knew what Mazepa was up to. He placed cannons on the Baturin church and was shooting from there. Shooting so hard and with such precision…that our troops panicked and defeat drew near! The Tsar was complaining: "Is there a man in our realm who would know how to overwhelm Mazepa?"…

One old Zaporozhian Cossack dared to note: "…our host has such a person, by the name Semen Palii…" //

And the Tsar says: "Palii is no more for he was punished by death."

"No, o Tsar, he is alive, only exiled to Siberia"… The Tsar's envoys brought Palii before the Tsar: "Look, Palii," the Tsar said, "…we are about to lose our kingdom!"

And Palii responded: "Do not be worried, when I ride to the battle, for the victory will be ours."

So, they were going to feed him first.

"No," he says, "let the church bells ring first."

"Now," give me a steed!"… "No, Tsar, you do not have such a steed"…//

… "Let me go to the Cossack host and I shall pick a steed there."

He went to the Cossack host and saw how his horse was used to deliver water. Palii even cried saying: "I am a captive and my horse is a captive too." He mounted his steed and it moved like an eagle!..

And Palii was such a knight, that he was waging war using not sorcery, but with the help of Angels— he could ride throughout the enemies' lines without being seen and when he looked into someone's eye, that person would not be able to take it…//

They were moving…and Zaporozhian Cossacks [on Mazepa's side] were sitting and playing cards. Palii says: "Good health to you, young gents! Are we going to fight or make peace?" And one Zaporozhian said: "This is Palii who rode near us!"…

And for you to know, Mazepa was trained by Palii himself. And Tsar said: "Well, Palii. You can do nothing to him, for he has learned all of your tricks from you."

"No, o Tsar," Palii responded, "even though he has been trained by me I have not told him all of my secrets."

So, Palii loaded the cannons and positioned them across from each other: one looking here, and another one looking there… "Now, shoot," Palii said… They shot away…and defeated Mazepa…//

The Tsar wanted to massacre all of the Hetmanate's people … And Palii said: … "Do not plunder the Hetmanate."
"Very well," the Tsar said, "I leave it alone because of you."

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish
Published: Panteleimon Kulish, *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 123-128.

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Palii and his Tatar opponent as kharakternyky

Палій и татарскій рыцарь

Палій як поїхав орду спинати... Орда мала свого ліцеря, і він перш ходив з ордою, а тоді— пішов геть од орди, шоб самому добра придбати. І то зійшлись Палій і той лицер од орди... І Палій посів того лицера, звязав его віжками: у дванадцять сталок були віжки. То вже звязаний той лицер як обглядів Палієве військо, аж оно у Палія всего війська що но 50 козаків. То обглядів лицер Палієве військо і каже: “Шоб же я знав таке, то був би не давсяя тобі, був би боровся з тобою.” Бо, бачте, як бились вони, то тому здавалось, шо так як кінця світові нема, так Палієвому військові. Такий то планетний чоловік був Палій і напустив туману на того козака, що од орди. Та тоді той лицар скрутнувся, то так віжки ті і перегоріли на нему.

Записав Володимир Менчиц

(Translation)

Palii and the Tatar knight

Once upon a time Palii went to stop the Tatar horde… That horde had a knight of its own, who from the outset was with the horde and then left the horde to seek booty on his own. So, Palii and the knight from that horde set [for a duel]… Palii overwhelmed that knight and tied him up with a harness: that harness had twelve layers in length. When the subdued knight took notice of Palii’s army he saw only fifty Cossacks under his command. So, the Tatar knight looked at the army of Palii and said: “Had I known the true number of your force, I would not give up so easily.” You see, when Palii and the Tatar knight were fighting, the latter imagined the limitless strength of the Palii’s army, as limitless as the world. Palii was such a sorcerer that he had that Cossack from the horde enchanted (it is peculiar, how the narrator apply such terms as “Cossack” and “knight” as synonyms, even as speaking about the Tatar horde — *R. S.*). Upon that the Tatar knight twisted so hard that his ties burnt off him.

Reference: collected by Volodymyr Menchyts

Published: Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), p. 201.

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Palii helps Russian Tsar in the Tsar's quest to defeat Hetman Mazepa and the Tatar horde (fragment)

Палій, Мазепа и Орда

А чи є, паничу, за ті орди в описах, говориться про них? Кажуть, що по ці стороні колись то орди ходили, та Бог его // знає. Ще то тесть мого брата, він не рідний і моєму братові був, він жінці братові то приходився вітчим, то ще то тесть братів, старий Ковбаса, то каже, що про орди то він чув од батька, а коліївщину то ще сам памятає... Оце й роскаже Ковбаса про тії то орди. Тоді, каже, проклятий Мазепа був; і зараз після него тії орди почали ходити. Мазепа воював тоді на цара руського. Тоді ще город Пятербурх не був руський, а швецький, і цар сидів у Москві. То Мазепа обтукував его в ті Москві, крепко коло него так прийнявся, до того на кінці прийшлося, шо царові нема куди повернутись, так его дуже збив Мазепа той.

Всельнів так Мазепа, не може цар вже й битись з ним. Ото став цар просити у Мазепи: "дай мині," каже, "на три дні спочивку"... І як раз як це робилось і тоді саме був Палій Семен, дуже великий воїн. І Мазепа проклятий як захтів цара звоювати, то Палія до турми запровадив, і Палій сидів у тії турмі 30 літ. І Мазепа то такий смілий зробивсь, ото ему помогло, шо так Палія він упорав, як Палій у турмі, то Мазепа смілий уже воювати хоть на кого. //

... до царя це донесли...; вже за Палія сам цар знає... Ото й послали за Палієм у полицію. Вивели его з турми...а він такий дід зробився, що вже аж труситься. Як тут его везти?.. Коли прибігають чотирі коні; кладовлять его в рядно, і чотирох верхів кожному по кінцеві; і так его щоб везти, і щоб нігде і не здригнути...

Ото вже привезли Палія...Впав Палій навколішки, і сивий такий колінями так і лізе... Цар подививсь на его і собі впав на землю і почав до Палія колінями лізти. Ну, ото й каже до Палія: "*Встань старичок*! Порадь нас; не можемо стоять против Мазепи"... Ото Палій каже: "Просіть у Мазепи ще три дні спочивку, може, чи не поправимось за ті три дні..."...

Наступили ще три дні спочивку...коло Палія всі ходять. Він нужденний дуже був, то ему їсти, ему пити, всякої всячини... Тепер ще коня Палієві добрати. І коней понаганяли...показують, чи не найдеться, може, здобний ему... Палій підійде, возьме его за гриву, то кінь так і впаде навколішки... Досить того скілько було коней, а приходиться таке, що коня не добере собі Палій. А їде жид, везе бочку води їдним конем. Кінь худий дуже... Палій углядів того коня, підійшов до него і говорить:

“Шо ти, старий живеш? Ну і ти білий і я *седой*, ми ще // бєлому царю послужимо”... Ото спочив Палій, коня доглядають, кінь вже їначий трохи... Виїхав Палій і обставив все мазепине військо короговками... А Мазепа проклятий сидить...і чай пъе... Палій подивився, і як пустив стрілу, то стріла Мазепи в шклянку попала; вислав Мазепа локая подивитись...локай вернувся...і каже: “Є, вже Палієві короговки надокола нашого віська стоять.” Мазепа проклятий скочив та вихватив з пазухи...отруту, випив і пропав на місці. Палій...казав его вісько киями вигнати, то зайняли киями тай погнали. Послі того каже цар до Палія: “*Палеюшка, батюшка!* Прогнав ти мазепине віско, прожени ще орду!..” Палій Семен каже до царя: “В.И.В. міні так як стакан доброго вина випити, так міні орду прогнати. Що там... тут було військо, спосіб, а орда що?!” І одібрав він собі дванадцять козаків, ото вже з ними на орду йти. Пішли вони в цю сторону де Полща. Оце станутъ де ті хлопці молодії...до дівчат кортить, нехай же піде котрий без відома, що не позволиться у Палія, то вже й не вернеться: такий строгий був Палій. Він і казати не буде нічого тому козакові, але він не вернется, десь не стане его. А который позволиться у Палія, нічого.

...Палій був і в нашому Вчорашнему. Він і криницю викопав, ту що ще за мостом...вона Палієва криниця. Од теї криниці в якусь сторону, хто его знає, в яку, Палій закопав човен грошей...

Записав Володимир Менчиц

(Translation)

Palii, Mazepa and the Tatar horde

Well, young master, are those hordes being mentioned in the records, what is being told about them? People say that along this side the hordes used to roam, but only God // knows that for sure. The father-in-law of my brother, he was not a blood-relative to my brother for he was the stepfather to my brother’s wife, so that father-in-law of my brother, an old man by name of Kovbasa, said that he had heard stories about the hordes from his father, and witnessed *koliivshchyna* (a powerful peasant and Cossack rebellion on the Right-Bank Ukraine against Polish domination (1768-69) — *R. S.*) himself… So, Kovbasa would tell you about those hordes. That was the time of the cursed Mazepa (unclear whether the narrator had a personal animosity towards the Cossack Hetman of old or simply referred to the anathema of this political figure, displayed in the Russian churches — *R. S.*) and after his rule the horde began to roam (the Ukrainian lands).

Back then, Mazepa was waging war against the Russian Tsar. Back then, the city of Petersburg was not Russian, but belonged to the Swedes, and the Russian Tsar had Moscow as his capital. Well, Mazepa enchanted the Tsar in Moscow, and so Mazepa succeeded in this enterprise, that at the end, the Tsar fell completely under his influence. That's how that Mazepa overpowered him.

And so powerful Mazepa had become, that the Tsar could hardly fight against him [with any prospect of winning the war]. So, the Tsar began asking Mazepa: "give me," he was saying, "three days of rest"... And when those events were unfolding, there lived Semen Palii, a great warrior. And when the accursed Mazepa wanted to defeat the Tsar, he had Palii locked in prison and Palii spent thirty years there. And upon incarcerating Palii, Mazepa became so bold that he was prepared to fight anybody. //

...The Tsar was told about Palii...; The Tsar has heard about Palii... So, he dispatched people to bring Palii before him. Palii was brought from the prison...and Palii grew so decrepit that he stood there shaking. How could you move such a sick person? ...Four horses came; [servants?] put Palii on the cloth [attached to the horses] and four more, mounted [servants], rode at each end in order to carry Palii and not to disturb him...

Well, the servants brought Palii [before the Tsar]... Palii, all covered with gray hair, fell on his knees before the Tsar and crawled towards him on his knees... The Tsar looked at what Palii was doing and kneeled himself and began crawling towards Palii. So, the Tsar spoke to Palii saying: "Rise, old man! Give us advice: we don't know how to overwhelm Mazepa"... So, Palii said: "Ask Mazepa for three more days of rest, perhaps we will recouperate in those three days..."

...Three more days of truce with Mazepa were passing... everybody was attending to Palii. He suffered greatly, so the servants were bringing food, drinks and the like to Palii... Now Palii needed a good steed. Many horses were brought...before him...showing these to him with a hope that among them there would be one worthy of him... Palii would approach each one of the horses, grab a hold of the horse's back and make it fall down... Many of them had been brought before Palii, but he could not find himself a horse still. Then a Jew came along, transporting a water barrel with a riding steed. That mount was very thin ... Palii saw that horse, came closer and said: "So, there is still life in you, old pal. You are white and I am gray, but we shall serve together to the white (Russian; such epithets as "white" and "eastern" are frequently used in Ukrainian folklore in reference to the Russian Tsars — *R. S.*) Tsar"... So, Palii was resting and his horse also rested a bit... The horse changed somewhat. Palii rode out and surrounded the Mazepa's army with the banners... And the cursed Mazepa was sitting and... drinking tea... Palii saw that and loosed an arrow, which hit the teacup from which Mazepa was drinking; Mazepa sent a lackey to find out who did that [mischief]...lackey returned and... reported: "Well, our troops are being surrounded with the banners of Palii's host." The acursed Mazepa jumped up, took ...some poison from his sleeve, drank it and fell dead. Palii...then ordered to chase Mazepa's army with sticks and so it was done. After this [victory] Tsar told Palii: "O, Palii, who is like father to me (narrator is mimicking the Russian language patterns, used in showing affection between two speakers — *R. S.*)! You have chased away the army of Mazepa and now chase away the Tatar horde!.." Semen Palii replied to the Tsar: "Your Imperial Highness, for me to chase away the horde is like to drink a glass of good wine. The horde is nothing... [In the case of Mazepa's army] I dealt with a trained army, and horde is nothing like that!" So, Palii selected twelve Cossacks to march against the horde. They went in the direction of Poland. Where those young lads [Cossacks] stationed there...they craved for the company of maidens, but if one of them went courting the maiden without a leave, granted by Palii, then that one would never return: so strict a commander was Palii. He would even tell nothing to such a Cossack, but the latter would simply never return and perish without a trace. And if a Cossack asked Palii for a leave than nothing like this would happen.

...Palii himself visited our village of Vchorashnie. He dug that well, which is still standing beyond that bridge... It is the well of Palii. In some direction of that well, nobody knows where, Palii burried a boat full of money...

Reference: collected by Volodymyr Menchyts
Published: Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), pp. 201-204.

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A Story about the Swedes, Mazepa and Palii; Palii as kharakternyk

Шведы, Мазепа и Палій

Верстах в шести от Будни дорога разсекает обширний Когубинскій лєс, по этому то лєсу мнє пришлось проходить вместє з “забродчиком” із Тарасівки і “люлешником” із Павлівки (села около Зинькова). Шел я тогда із Зинькова в Полтаву.

Коли минули ми лєс, забродчик остановился, оглянулся.

—І, боже, який то ліс колись був. —Це саме місто *Просікою* зветься.

—Як просікою?

—А так: Швед як ішов на Платаву, тут нельзя було і проглянуть, а війська в его було много, от він зробив просіку, а там—шлях проложили, воно і осталось просікою. От біля нашої Тарасівки є шлях, де він ішов, тепер він заріс, той *гостинцем* зветься, бо на той шлях попи і старики виходили его стрічать з гостинцем, а десь, кажуть, не вийшли, так він їх з водосвятія всіх і заняв.

—На шож він людей різав? спросил Люлешник.

—Він не бив людей, так тіки для страху; хто ему покориться, він тому нічого. —Тоді як би не Семен Палій, не одстояли б Платави...

Мазепа тоді був королек, а Палій Семен у его генералом; от за шо то вони і поспорили. Мазепа і приказав замурувать в стінку Палія. Сидів там Палій шось довго. От швед як підступив під Платаву, а наш царь Петр первий і обявля, чи не отстаяв би хто Платави. От один старик і найшовсь і каже: “Ваше Императорскоє Височество! я знаю в такій то стіні сидить замурований Семен Палій; той може одстоять.” Ну, зараз веліли розмурувать, вивели его. “Шо ти можешь Платаву отстоять?” —“Могу, Ваше Императорскоє Височество,” та зарядив срібною кулею ружжо, як стрілне, а Мазепа з Карлом саме обідали, а та куля прямо ім в полумисок і впала та і закипіла кровъю. “Е,” каже Мазепа, “вже Палій на волі!” Та як кинулись тікать та сами себе і порубали. —“Шо-ж то Палій зробив?” //

—“А хто его зна, він знатник був, тіки по божому.”

Записав Иван Манжура між Зіньковим та Великими Будищами

(Translation)

The Swedes, Mazepa and Palii

Around six miles from [the village] of Budnia the road cuts through the vast forest of Kohubynsky, and I happened to pass through this forest together with a resident from Tarasivka and a pipe-player from Pavlivka (villages near the town of Zinkiv — *I. M.*). Back then I was on my way from Zinkiv to Poltava.

After we had passed through the forest the resident [of Tarasivka] stopped and turned his head back:

—O, God, what a great forest this used to be. —This very place is known as *prosika* (a trail, cut through the woods — *R. S.*).

—And why is that?

—That is why. When the Swedish army was moving towards Poltava, there were so many of them, that you could not see through them, and there they cut through the woods and made this trail. Near our village Tarasivka there is another road and it is known as "gift-giver," because the priests and eldermen had gone that way to greet Swedish army with bread and salt, and at other place, people say, there was no such a delegation and for that, the Swedes routed the people when they were celebrating the feast of Jordan.

— Why did Swedes kill the people? The pipe-player asked.

—The Swedish soldiers did not kill people, just wanted to scare them; if people surrendered Swedes did nothing to such people. —If not for Semen Palii Poltava would be lost [to the Swedish army]...

Back then, Mazepa was royalty and Semen Palii was his general; once upon a time they had an argument and Mazepa had Palii incarcerated in the wall. Palii lived there for quite a long time. When the Swedes were moving against Poltava, our Tsar Peter I ordered to find a person who would defend Poltava. One old man stepped forward and said: "Your Imperial Highness! I know the wall where Semen Palii is incarcerated; he is up to your task." Well, at once the Tsar ordered to deliver Palii from imprisonment and he was brought out of his incarceration. "Well, can you defend Poltava against the Swedes?" —"Yes, I can, Your Imperial Highness," and upon saying this, Palii loaded his rifle with a silver bullet and shot at Mazepa and the king of Sweden, Charles, who were having dinner at that time, and the bullet fell into their bowl and the food in this bowl turned into boiling blood. "O, I see," Mazepa said, "Palii is loose already!" Mazepa and Charles began running away and killed one another while making an escape. — "What did Palii do?" //

— "Nobody knows, but he was a wizard, a Godly one."

Reference: collected by Ivan Manzhura

Published: Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), pp. 205-206.

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The miraculous birth of Semen Palii (fragment)

Семен Палій

В Мотовилівці колись жив собі з жінкою, з діточками чоловічок. Раз поїхав він орати. Оре він да просить бога, щоб хороше вродило... От надвечір чує він, що плуг його за щось задержався. Дивиться— якась здоровенна труп'я голова.

—Господи, боже мій! Се, видно, яка-небудь лицарська голова, — подумав чоловік... //

Узяв її, виніс за свій вишневий садок, у чисте поле, розіклав багаття і давай палить. А голова горіла-горіла, поки стала порохнею, так як от сахар. Подививсь чоловік і, бог знає з чого, взяв ту білу порохню в хустину...приніс додому і мовчки положив на полицю.

Незабаром, може, через день в господі остались тільки дочка да малий хлопець. Дочка вже і борщ заставила в піч...оставалось тільки посолить страву, — так нема ж солі.

—Оттам, Галю, на полиці лежить у хустині щось біле; мабуть, сіль, — говорить брат.

Сестра стала на лавку...покоштувала раз— нічого, вдруге, втретє... От минає неділь десять, а може і більше, — упала дочка в ноги батьку-матері і говорить:

—Я в тяжу; оттак було і так.

...а через півроку дочка привела уже сина. Охрестили його і назвали Семеном Безбатченком (див. аналогічний сюжет у Додатку А (№ 11) — *Р. Ш.*).

Хлопець ріс, уже і за волами ходив, як ось їхали в Мотовилівку запорожці...і зманили хлопця в Великий Луг. А в Січі кошовий, замітивши хлопця, взяв його до себе в молодики. Служить Семен, служить, а гонору йому все-таки нема. “Постойте, буде і в мене гонор!” — подумав собі Семен. Узяв, спалив отаманський курінь і втік додому.

—Еге! Так ти такий! — говорить кошовий... Буде з хлопця лицар, буде!..

Раз поїхав кошовий на охоту з Семеном; їздили вони довго і заїхали в таке місто, що тільки одні скелі да пуща. Став при сонці і чистому небі гриміти грім, а се архангел Гавриїл хотів убити полоза. Грім ударить, а полоз вилізе з скелі й засміється.

—Еге, оттака ловись! — сказав Палій, ухопив з плеча янчарку, приложився, випалив, і на тім місці, де показувався полоз, потекла смола.

—Іди ж ти тепер, куди знаєш, — сказав йому кошовий. — Іди у свою країну і ріж усяку нехристь, бо ти єси чоловік, угодний богу.

—Ні, батьку! — каже Палій. —Не одпускай мене одного, а пусти зо мною Іскру, Кочубея і Шмалька...

А навпослі вже Семен Палій зробився паном-полковником Фастовским, добре різав орду і ляхів, да Мазепа його стратив із завидності, що Палія величали козацьким батьком.

Записав П. Ревякін від Т. Ярового, 85
років, с. Красне, Васильківський
повіт, Київська губернія (1847)

(Translation)

Semen Palii

Once upon a time, a man lived with his wife and children in Motovilivka. One day he went to plough. So, he was ploughing and asking God for an abundant harvest… Close to the evening, he felt that his plough stumbled over something. He looked— and saw a huge dead head.

—God Almighty! This head must have belonged to some knight — the man thought... //

He took that head beyond his cherry orchard right down the wide-open field, set a bonfire and began to burn it. Well, the head was burning till it burned down to ashes, which was as white as sugar. The man took a glance at the ashes and, God knows why, wrapped that white powder into his kerchief…brought it home and put it on the shelf without telling any one about this.

In no time, maybe a day later, only a daughter and a little son of that man were left in charge of that household. The daughter had already put the borshcht in the oven...only salt had to be added yet, — but there was no salt in their household left.

—Over there, Halia, something white wrapped in the kerchief lies on the shelf; this could be salt, — her brother told her.

The sister climbed the bench…tried those ashes once — nothing, tried second time, third… In ten weeks or a little bit more, — the daughter fell in her father's-mother's feet [begging for pardon] saying:

—I am pregnant; it happened so and so.

…And in half a year that man's daughter delivered a son. He was baptized and called Semen Bezbatchenko (the one, brought up without the father; see the resembling motif in Appendix A (№ 11) — *R. S.*).

The boy was growing and began working, looking after a herd of oxen, and once Zaporozhian Cossacks were passing through

Motovilivka…and lured that boy to Velykyi Luh (the lands of Zaporozhian Cossacks' domain in the delta of Dnipro river — *R. S.*). And in the Sich, the Chieftain distinguished that boy and made him cadet. So Semen was serving and serving, but without any recognition.

"You just wait and I shall deserve recognition!" — Semen thought. He burned the Chieftain's hut and ran away home.

—Oh! That's what you are! — the Chieftain acknowledged… One day this boy will make a fine knight!

Once upon a time the Chieftain went hunting with Semen, they were riding for a long time and made it to such a desolated place, where only cliffs and woods were. Thunder errupted even though it was a sunny day, and that was Archangel Gabriel trying to kill the serpent. After the thunder had stricken the serpent would crawl from the rock and laugh [at Gabriel].

—Oh and now try this! — Palii said taking a rifle from his shoulder, aiming and shooting the serpent, and at that very place, where that serpent had been showing itself, tar began to drip.

—You should now go wherever you want to, — the Chieftain told Palii. Go to your land and cut down ungodly things for you are a man, beloved by God.

—No, father! — Palii replied. Do not send me alone, but let Iskra, Kochubei and Shmalko go with me…

Later on Palii became lord and Colonel of Fastiv, successful in the wars against the Poles and the Tatars, but Mazepa had Palii put to death because he grew envious that people deemed Palii to be the father to all the Cossacks.

[Informant]: T. Iarovyi, age 85, village of Krasne, Vasilkiv county, Kyiv guberniia, 1847

Reference: collected by P. Reviakin; originally published in *Osnova*, 1861, XI-XII, pp. 29-31.

Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and stories], ed. O. I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), pp. 216-218.

-19-

A Legend about Semen Palii; Palii as a folk hero (fragment)

Семен Палій хотів панів вивести, щоб не було, щоб уся Росія була одна: простолюддя. Вони, ці пани, спершу приїздили з чужих земель до нас гроші зароблять у давнину, а тепер, бач, як воно стало: куди не глянь— усе їхнє. Так Палій хотів перевести усіх панів чисто, щоб не було цієї погані. А Мазепа був чужоземець, він хотів усіх сплюндрувати.

Цар скриводушив перед Семеном Палієм: не дав йому гетьманщини, — клявся, та скриводушив. Палій подався од царя на острови, не став склонятися перед царем. І він живий і досі. Як місяць народжується, то й Палій молодіє, а як місяць старіє, то й він старіє.

Він колись буде воювать з царем за простолюддя.

...

Записав Порфірії Мартинович
від Кирила Пашковського
(1882)

(Translation)

Semen Palii was planning to get rid of the landlords so that the entire Rus' land would be one estate: the commoners. From the times of old, those landlords were coming to our land from afar to earn money, and look, what has it come to: everything now belongs to them. So, Palii wanted to get rid of them all, to get rid of this scum. And Mazepa was a foreigner who wanted to plunder everybody.

The Tsar broke his promise to Palii and did not appoint him Hetman— he made an oath and then broke it. Palii left the Tsar's service and sailed to the islands. He did not want to bow down to the Tsar. He is still alive. When the new moon is born, then Palii is getting younger, and when the moon is full, then Palii is getting older.

One day Palii will be fighting against the Tsar for the deliverance of the commoners.

...

[Informant]: Cyril Pashkovsky (1882)

Reference: collected by P. Martynovych; originally published in *Ukrainski zapysy* (1906), p. 237.

Published: *Lehendy ta perekazy* [Legends and storie], ed. O. I. Dei, et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), p. 218.

-20-

A Legend about Hetman Mazepa, Semen Palii, Hetman Polubotok, Oleksii and Kyrylo Rozumovsky (fragment)

Мазепа, Палій, Полуботокъ и Разумовскіе

От і мій дід сім год аж під шведом був. —І Мазепу дід бачив?

—Ні, Мазепа був давно; ще мій батько од свого діда чув про Мазепу. Се ще давня давнина, ще за Палія. Вони обидва були козаки, славні лицарі. Тільки Палій був кращий і проти царя не йшов, он що воно значить. Одначе вони куми були. І Мазепа і Палій куми проміж себе були, а опісля ворогували.

Се ще давно було, дуже давно, не памъятую й коли; тоді ще вільно було усюди: нічогісенько сего не було, що тепер; своя воля була усім людім по Україні! А от як почали некрут брать, у москалі, це мій дід памъятував, да це все знають!

Царем ото був Петро, чоловік Катерини (бачите ще був живий, то й царював, а опісля вона вже царювала). То ото довго поповозились, поки почали некрут брати. На гетьманстві, кажу, був тоді Полуботок, і значить, орудував усенькою Україною. І шле до его якось царь Петро листи, некрут з Українців потребує; прочитав Полуботок, та й одписує: "ніколи сего *не було*, та й не буде, щоб Українців у некрути брали; поки живий, каже, не дам, а помру, усім закажу, щоб сего не було, той *не буде*!" — Царь пише до его вдруге. Він ему знов те ж саме! Пише і в третє та й наказує: "коли, каже, ти, Полуботку, некрут з України не хочеш давати, то прибудь, каже царь, на мої ясні очі, побалакаємо"... Приїхали в той Петербурх і до царя причвалали. Царь побачив Полуботка, та й кричить: "ти — Павло Полуботок" — "Я," одказує гетьман, "Павло Полуботок!" //

—"Як ти смів моеї царської волі не вволити, некрут з Українців не дати?"

—"Так і так, одказує, некрут з роду з віку не брали з Українців, і брать не мають."

—"Не будуть?!" гримає царь.

—"Поки я житиму, не будуть!" одказує гетьман...

Его ж таки ще мучили: як почали мучити, то аж три дні мучили. На четвертий одвезли в якийсь лех у кріпості: коли дивляться так над вечір, аж у леху вогонь горить: Полуботок кончиться, праведен бувши, то коло его, мученика, свічки запалились і усе навкруги освітили. Сказали цареві. Він попереду віри не йняв, далі сам пішов подивитися. Поглянув— правда! вступив тоді до Полуботка, хотів, щоб его праведний поблагословив. А той звів руку та й ударив его хрестом!

Вдарив царя хрестом, та й каже: “Оце ти— Петро, а я— Павло! Я умру сегодня, а ти через тиждень; хто ж з Українців некрут братиме, буде проклят і на цему світі і на тому!” Та й умер.

Царь Петро ото приказ про некрут подрав, а другий написав, щоб з роду й до віку не було брано у нас некрут. А через тиждень, справді, і Петро вмер.

—“А як же ж почали брать Українців в некрути? Тепер же беруть?”

—“Ге, це вже его, петрова, жінка поділа! сіла вона царювати; а до неї підбився Разумовский...то оце він, сучий син, підвів так, що почали в нас некрут брать! Хоча ж би то путящий чоловік був отой Разумовский, а то зовсім ледащо. Міні козак...таке про его росказував: що там таки, у їх у // Лемішах, була собі жінка, і так вона...з ким попало водилась, зовсім розпусна, і ото привела вона з кимсь дитину, сина. Зріс той хлопець, звісно, як байстрюк...та з людської ласки...священик Лемішівський, привчив его співати... То от, кажуть, чи вибирали співаків, чи через щось інше, тільки узяли того хлопця, Розумовського, до Петербурга...А...він...сподобався цариці. Ну, вона его й витягла в великі пани! Як витягла, він почав коверзувати: ото некрут підвів брати...і всяко лихо людім робив, тим людім, що его вигодовали. Про матір, кажуть, не згадав. І хоть за свою душу церкви построїв...а все таки пропав як та собака! недурно Полуботок прокляв: мабуть тепер в пеклі сидить!”

Записав І. Косач під Козельцем
Борзненського повіту від чоловіка 45
років (1862)

(Translation)

Mazepa, Palii, Polubotok and the Rozumovskys

So my grandfather was living for seven years under Swedish power. —Did he see Mazepa?

—No, Mazepa lived long ago; my father heard about Mazepa from his grandfather. Those events happened long time ago, when Palii lived. Both Mazepa and Palii were Cossacks and glorious knights. But Palii was better because he did not go against the Tsar. That’s what it means. But they were godparents one to another. Palii and Mazepa had been godparents and then turned into foes.

That was happening very long ago, so long ago that I cannot even recollect it; back then all Ukrainian people were free and life was different

from what it is nowadays! And when they started to draft people into the army, my grandfather remembered this and everybody knows about this!

At that time Peter, the husband of Catherine, was Tsar (you see back then he was alive and reigned and after his death she ruled). It took a long time before they started the draft. I say that during that time, Hetmancy belonged to Polubotok, who was in charge of entire Ukraine. Somehow Peter sent letters to Polubotok, demanding draftees from among Ukrainians; Polubotok read those letters and replied: "it has never been so and it will never be so that Ukrainians would be drafted. I will not allow this for as long as I live and even upon my death it will never happen!" —The Tsar wrote him the second time. Polubotok refused him again! The Tsar wrote to Polubotok the third time and ordered him: "if you, Polubotok, do not want to send draftees from Ukraine, then come before my magnificent eyes and we shall discuss this issue"... Polubotok and his companions came to Petersburg and made their way before the Tsar. Upon seeing Polubotok the Tsar screamed: "Are you Pavlo Polubotok?" — "I am," the Hetman replied, "Pavlo Polubotok!" //

—"How you dare obstruct my Tsarist will and not send the draftees from Ukraine [to me?]"

—"So and so," Polubotok replied, "there has never been a draft from Ukraine and it must never be so."

—"No draft?!," the Tsars boomed.

—"Not while there is still life in me!," the Hetman replied....

Polubotok was tormented: when they began to torment him, it lasted for three days. On the forth day, he was thrown into some hole in the fortress: closer to the evening the guards saw that there was light in that hole: Polubotok passed away as a holy martyr and the candles around him lit on their own. This was reported to the Tsar. He did not believe at first then went himself to observe that phenomenon. He came and saw that what he had heard was true! Following this, he approached Polubotok in order to be blessed by the martyr. And Polubotok raised his arm with the cross in it and hit the Tsar with the cross! He hit Tsar and said as followed: "You are Petro (Peter) and I am Pavlo (Paul)! I shall die today and you will follow me in a week; those, who want to take draftees from among the Ukrainians be cursed, both in this life and in the next one!" And he died.

Tsar Peter tore the draft of the decree into pieces and composed another, which forbade the draft in Ukraine forever. And in a week, Peter died indeed.

—"Then how did it happen that Ukrainians are being drafted? Aren't they drafting them now?"

—"Well, this was the doing of Petro's wife! She sat on the throne; and Rozumovsky crept toward her ...That was him, the son of a bitch, who initiated the draft among the Ukrainians! And it would not be so bad, if that Rozumovsky were a man of merit, and not a lazy person. One Cossack...told me the following about Rozumovsky: in the village of Lemishi // lived a woman, and...she was promiscuious, was a harlot, and she gave birth to a child, a son, and that boy grew up like a bastard [he was]. That boy grew up without a father...only due to the people's kindness... a priest from Lemishi taught him to sing in the choir... So, the saying goes, either there was a contest for the best singer or something else, but that boy, Rozumovsky, was taken to Petersburg... And the Tsarina...grew fond of him. So she had him promoted to high nobility! And when she had him promoted, then Rozumovsky began to do mischief: ordered to go forward with the draft [in Ukraine]...doing various wrongdoings towards the people, who brought him up. He did not even remember his mother. And even though he built churches to save his soul...he perished like the filthy dog he was! You see, the curse by Polubotok had its power afterall: Rozumovsky may well be in hell now!"

[Informant]: a man of 45 near Kozelets of
Borzhnia county (1862)

Reference: collected by I. Kosach
Published: Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), pp. 206-208.

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Catherine II of Russia and Zaporozhian Cossack delegates in St. Petersburg (fragment)

Як запорозьци йиздылы у Петербургъ до царыци

Якъ пидговорылы министры Екатырыну царыцю: "шо зъ насъ," каже, "и рекрутъ беруть, и податъ и все, а за що-жъ запорозьцивъ мылують? Уровныть ихъ якъ и прочыхъ подданныхъ..." Ришылы, шобъ вызвать главныхъ запорозьцивъ шисть чоловика и шобъ тутъ зъ ными вмисти переговырыть. Послалы шлахвету: "Явыться шистемъ чоловикамъ на таке-то число," а чого— не сказано. Запорозьци зналы чого.

Главный отаманъ запорозькый сказавъ: "Хлопци! А шо будемъ теперъ робыть? Уже-жъ вы знаете, чого вона клыче." А вже имъ шпіоны донеслы. —"Ну, вже й оддячымо, пане отамане. Воны зъ насъ хотять посміяться, а мы зъ ныхъ посміемось..." Рушылысь. //

Прыйихалы у Петербургъ. Уже дойизджають до двора до царыцыного... Черезъ часъ доложылы царыци, шо "шось прыйихало хто его зна зъ якогось народу незвисного." Иностраньци, або-що, посчыталы воны. Катерына прыказала одному министру: "пойды, узнай, шо за народъ и зачимъ прыйихавъ." Запорозьци и побачылы, шо вже иде... Министръ увійшовъ у хату, — сказавъ: "Здорови булы! Што за народъ?" Воны, не кажуть ни слова, заразъ одынъ пазуху розгорта. "А пидожды...а-а-а, шельмыни воши, тай воши! отъ воши! Гм, недавно й прыйихалы, а скилькы вошей набралысь." "Та што вы за народъ?" А посли бачыть, шо нема отвита ніякого, тилькы воши бьють, пишовъ до царыци сказавъ: "это самошедши..." ...

Черезъ часъ послала царыця главного министра... Министръ... пытае: "што за люды? Откудова едете?" Заразъ одынъ выходыть, за штаны взявся: "а скажы, пожалуста, куды въ васъ на двиръ питы. Швыдче, швыдче, бо не вдержусь." Министръ сканхвузывсь, плюнувъ, тай пишовъ съ хаты... //

На другий день отаманъ каже: "хлопци, повмывайтеся-жъ добре, повдягайтеся." Пославъ одного спытать у яке время явыться запорозьцямъ? Царыця пыта: "да когда-жъ оны прыехалы?" Винъ ничого не каже... Созвала тоди все министерство... Вси зійшлысь. Царыця каже: "Запорозьци прыихалы. Дамо имъ судъ"... Тоди послалы камердирена до запорозьцивъ, шобъ явыться.

...Ввійшлы въ залу, поклонылыся. Отаманъ пыта: "Ваше императорское велычество, чого вы насъ изволилы требовать?" Царыця каже: "обождить, современемъ скажу."

Велила подавать обидъ... Колы подають рыбу. Министрамъ подалы здорову рыбу, а запорозьцямъ малу. Заразъ отаманъ тилькы моргнувъ: "хлопци!"

Тутъ заразъ одынъ якъ заплаче... Царыця пыта: "шо таке?..." Винъ зъ плачемъ "у-гу-у-у, маты наша царыця, мене нихто не обидывъ, а я здумавъ свого батька. Мій батько втопъ. Та нихто его й не піймавъ. Вже мы й неводомъ затягалы, та тилькы ловыться мала рыба. Мы й пытаємъ малои рыбы: "чы не бачылы мого батька?" Мала рыба каже: "пытайтесь бильшои, мы не знаемъ," а бильшои рыбы не попадалось намъ. "А-а, каже, молодьци!" "ну," каже, "звынить! Подать имъ рыбу велыку..." Кинчывсь обидъ. Вси повставалы, сталы дякувать царыцю за обидъ, а запорозьци всталы, пишлы въ синьци... // то министры вже й пересудылы ихъ: "Отъ яки воны свыни. Пообидалы, не моглы сказать и спасыби."

Колы запорозьци выходять у самыхъ шо-найкращихъ одежахъ: на ихъ золото и серебро. Війшлы въ хату, отаманъ сказавъ царыци: "позвольте намъ, маты наша, за обидъ васъ поблагодарыты" ... Выйшовъ одынъ. Якъ дерне благодарну ричъ по латынському языку, — министры тильки слухають... Выходыть другий. Якъ уриже по греческому языку. Выходыть третій. Якъ учыстыть по нимецькій ричъ... четвертый...по итальянскому. Пьятый по хранцузькому... Шестый отаманъ...дернувъ по-руській!.. Кончывъ ричъ. "Теперъ, маты наша, скажить, чого вы насъ требуете?" Царыця була довольна ихъ благодарною ричью... Министры...показують выдъ, шо, значыть, не треба того робыть, шо надумалы. Та каже до запорозьцивъ: "Я тилькы того васъ требувала, шобъ зъ вамы повидиться." Тоди воны: "спасыби вамъ, наша маты, шо вы скучылы за намы"...тай поихалы соби.

Записав Порфирій Мартинович від священика Павла Тукалевського, 70 років, містечко Вереміївка, Золотоніський повіт, Полтавська губернія (1878)

(Translation)

How the Zaporozhians travelled to Petersburg to see Tsarina

Once upon a time, the ministers persuaded Catherine [II], the Tsarina: "How come we pay taxes and supply recruits and the Zaporozhians are excluded?" They must be equal to our other subjects… The Tsarina and ministers decided to call on six chief Cossacks to discuss this issue with them in the capital. So, the ministers sent a message by envoy saying: "Six people

must arrive on such a date," and did not explain the reason for this. But the Zaporozhians already knew the reason.

The Chieftain of the Zaporozhians said: "Lads! What do we do now? You all know well, why Tsarina is calling us." And the spies had already informed the Zaporozhians [about the Tsarina's decision to deprive them of their rights and privileges].

—"Well, our lord the Chieftain. They are planning on making fun of us, then we shall return their favor"... So, they set off. //

The Cossacks had arrived in Petersburg. And they almost made it to the Tsarina's court... In an hour, the Tsarina was passed a report that "some representatives of some unknown people have arrived." Foreigners or something like that, they thought. Tsarina Catherine ordered one Minister: "Go and find out, what sort of people they are and what their business is." The Zaporozhians saw him coming... The Minister entered the premises and said: "May the Lord grant you good health! What people are you?" The Cossacks stood without a response, and one of them checked the inside of his garments: "O, wait, darned lice; can you believe it, the lice! We have just gotten here and already got infested with lice!" "What people are you?" And later the minister saw that there was no answer, went to Tsarina and said: "those people are madmen..."

In an hour, the Tsarina dispatched the Chief Minister... That Minister...asked: "what people are you? Where are you from?" At once one of the Cossacks approached the minister and said holding his pants: "Please, tell me where I can urinate, but hurry up for I'm barely holding it." The Minister was confused, spat on the floor and went off...//

On the second day the Chieftain said: "now, lads, wash yourselfs and get dressed." He sent a Cossack to ask at what time the Cossacks are being expected in the palace? The Tsarina asked him: "But when did they come?" And that Cossack did not reply... So, the Tsarina assembled the ministers... Everybody came... The Tsarina then told them: "The Zaporozhians have arrived. Let us show them our justice"... Then they sent a page to call in the Cossacks.

...The Cossacks entered the hall and bowed. The Chieftain asked: "Your Imperial Highness, how can we be of any service to you?" The Tsarina replied: "Wait and I shall tell you later."

She ordered to serve the dinner... The time came to serve fish. The ministers were served a bigger fish, and the Zaporozhians a smaller one. "Now is the time!" The Chieftain winked at his lads.

One Cossacks broke into tears at once... Tsarina asked him: "What is wrong?..." And the Cossack cried "Ah-ah-ah, our mother Tsarina, nobody did me wrong, but I have just remembered my father. He drowned. But his body was never found. We were looking for his body with nets, but each time we fished out a little fish. And we asked that little fish: "Did you not see our father down there?" The little fish replied: "You better ask the bigger fish, because we don't know," but we have not caught any big fish." "O, I am sorry, lads!" the Tsarina said, "give them bigger fish"... The dinner was over. Everybody rose and thanked the Tsarina for her treat, and the Cossacks rose and went outside into the corridor without saying anything... // so the ministers gossiped about them, saying: "What kind of pigs are they? They could not even thank [Her Majesty] for the dinner."

At that moment, the Cossacks returned wearing their finest clothes, clad in gold and silver. They entered the hall and the Chieftain said: "Our mother, allow us to thank you for your dinner"... A Cossack stepped forward and thanked [the Tsarina] in fine Latin, — the ministers were all ears... The second one stepped forward and spoke out in Greek. The third one stepped forward and spoke in German...the fourth one...in Italian. The fifth one in French... The sixth one was the Chieftain himself, and he spoke in Russian!.. He finished. "Now, our mother, tell us, how can we be of any service to you?" The Tsarina was very pleased with their "thank yous" ... The ministers tried to gesture to her that the previous plan should be abandoned. She said to the Zaporozhians: "I called you here, merely to see you." The Cossacks replied: "Thank you, our mother, that you missed us"...and went back to their lands.

[Informant]: priest Pavlo Tukalevsky, age 70, village of Veremiivka, Zolotonosha county of Poltava guberniia, 1878

Reference: collected by Porfyrii Martynovych.
Published: Porfyrii Martynovych, *Ukrains'ky zapysy* [Ukrainian records] (Kiev: Typ. Imperatorskago universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1906), pp. 187-190.

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A story about the Cossack Chieftain Hladky (fragment)

Про кошового Гладкого

Исъ Ковраю прыкащыкъ Грыцько прывизъ у Вереміевку...сорокъ бочокъ горилкы: трыдьцять девять бочокъ продавъ жыдови Вульхови, а одну бочку, сорокову, козакови Сметанци...

Тутъ у Вереміевци въ базари булы скверни люды, скверный домъ держалы. Той Грыцько й пишовъ туды. Пробувъ винъ тамъ усю ничъ, колы кынувся враньци...вкрадено въ его тамъ...гроши. "Ну, шожъ мини теперъ робыть?!..." Таке, шо йты до Днипра хочъ топытьця. Пишовъ винъ до Днипра...а тамъ ходить Гладкый, тоже по надъ беригомъ иде... Пытаиця прыкащыкъ Грыцько Гладкого: "а ты хто такый и виткиля ты и якъ сюди зайшовъ?" А Гладкый каже: "я зъ Демокъ"... "Бувъ я въ Демкахъ головою, та мене // поцинували, мущество мое забралы, такъ я й пишовъ соби... Пиду де небудь у други городы нанятися..."...

Гладкый нанявсь ажъ у Мыколаеви прыкащыкомъ у купця, а той Грыцько...пишовъ ажъ увъ Одесу и нанявсь тамъ...за робитныка. ...одынъ разъ набравъ винъ воды...и...прыйшлось йихать ему на гору...увирвалась та каблучка...и...бендюгъ той изъ бочкою покотывсь у нызъ...а на ту гору йшла женщына...бочка...найихала на ту женщыну, тай убыла ту женщыну на смерть... "Ну шожъ его теперъ робыть?" каже Грыцько... "Пиду свитъ за очи" ... "Пиду ажъ за Дунай у Турещыну до Запорозьцивъ..." А за Дунаемъ тоди жылы Запорозьци, ти шо втеклы въ Турещыну писля того, якъ Сичъ зруйнувалы. И такъ люды тикалы от панивъ (отъ панщыны) въ Турещыну, — тамъ и селылысь слободамы. Отамъ слободы по Дунаю Катырлезъ велыка слобода: ото все туды тикалы одъ панивъ... //

...Прыйшовъ той Грыцько до Дуная...колы дывытьця — Гладкый ходе понадъ берегомъ. ...Пытаетьця Гладкого: "чого ты тутъ?" …"...я," каже Гладкый: "нанявся до одного купця въ Мыколаеви прыкащыкомъ... Одынъ разъ хазяина дома не було, а я взявъ ...тысяча цилковыхъ грошей...тай втикъ зъ Мыколаева. Хазяинъ мини рощоту не дававъ...Теперъ-же мене шукають тамъ у Мыколаеви, а я ажъ сюды прыйшовъ, шобъ утекты въ Турещыну."

...Пишлы воны обыдва въ Турещыну. А тоди переправа черезъ Дунай у Турещыну була...и...московськи караулы...стоялы на берези и...скризь ходылы, шукалы, чы нема такыхъ, шо въ Турещыну перемандровують... //

А якъ прыйдуть салдаты, а ти вже плывуть на судни на той бикъ Дунаю, такъ москали тоди зъ ружьивъ стриляють кулямы на тыхъ людей... Такъ и цей разъ було.

...Прыйшлы воны въ Сичъ туди, де жывуть Запорозьци. Пишлы до кошового...поздоровкалысь. Кошовый пыта ихъ: “чого вамъ треба, хлопци?” Воны кажуть, шо мы прыйшлы просытьця, шобъ вы, паноче, прынялы насъ у Запорозьци. Ну, теперъ-же прысягты имъ треба. Заставылы ихъ прысягаты, пиднять рукы до горы, и ставъ кошовый имъ чытать прысягу... Отъ якъ прысяглы воны и сталы жыть у Запорозьцивъ. А Гладкого кошовый влюбывъ за те те, шо винъ грамотный бувъ, и ставъ его держать пры соби, а Грыцько жывъ у курени, де й вси запорозьци... //

...Отъ жылы воны тамъ... А кошовый той ихній уже старый, слабый ставъ. ...Отъ винъ прызвавъ до себе запорозьцивъ, тай каже имъ: “я вже старый, нездужаю...то кого вы соби наставылы-бъ кошовымъ, якъ я вмру?” А вони кажуть: “кого-бъ вы, паноче, хотилы-бъ...то того-бъ и мы бъ выбралы.” “Ну, колы такъ, то нехай буде въ васъ кошовымъ Гладкый: винъ чоловикъ бувалый, грамотный; винъ може вамъ порядкы даваты”... Отъ...той кошовый умеръ. Поховалы его. И кошовымъ ставъ Гладкый Іосыпъ Мыхайловычъ. И ото винъ бувъ у запорозьцивъ кошовымъ, ажъ покы вже не прыйшлы запорозьци сюды упьять у наше царство.

А вернулись воны ось якъ: була война— туркы зъ нашымъ царемъ воювалы. Такъ воны запорозьци зибралыся мижъ собою, тай радяться: шо мы, хрыстыяне, та будемъ воюваты на Билого Царя? Намъ не прыходытьця помагать туркамъ. Якъ увійшлы москали у Туреччыну, такъ запорозьци давалы помочи воювать туркивъ. И царь тоди пойихавъ у Туреччыну. ...Такъ самъ кошовый Гладкый, та ше...зъ нымъ други запорозьци силы на човенъ, та...взялы царя, тай перевезлы на човни черезъ Дунай. Царь бувъ радъ имъ. Дякувавъ имъ. Такъ воны й сталы просыться...шобъ упьять ихъ прынявъ жыть у Росію... //

...Такъ ото воны коло Ростову и засилы, и часть ихъ и доси у Турещыни. Ото-жъ воно за ихъ и бытва теперъ робыться... Такъ...и запышить: шо цю росказку казавъ той самый чоловикъ, що разомъ и зайшовъ изъ Гладкымъ въ Турещыну, разомъ и выйшовъ.

Записав Порфирій Мартинович від козака Грицька Ганчара, с. Вереміївка, Золотоніський повіт, Полтавська губернія

(Translation)

Chieftain Hladky

Hryts'ko, the merchant's assistant from Kovrai, brought...forty barrels of vodka to the village of Veremeiivka: sold thirty-nine barrels to the Jew, Vulkh, and one barrel, the fortieth, to the Cossack, Smetana...

Here, at the market in Veremiivka were some bad people, who kept the brothel. Hrytsko (the merchant — *R. S.*) went there. He spent an entire night in there and when he woke up in the morning he found out that his money was stolen. "What am I going to do now?!..." I might as well go to Dnipro and commit suicide. He went to the river...and there he found Hladky who was pacing along the shore... Hrytsko-the assistant asked Hladky: "Who are you, where you are from and how did you get here." And Hladky replied: "I am from [the village of] Demky...I used to be a Chieftain in Demky, but I was deposed // and all my estate was confiscated, so I went away... I shall go somewhere, to other towns, to find a job there..."

...Hladky was hired as an assistant to the merchant in Mykolaiv, and Hrystsko...went as far as Odesa and...found employment as a hired laborer...Once he filled the barrel with the water...and he was forced to ride up the hill...the harness gave way...and...the cart with that barrel went downhill...and there was a woman going [in opposite direction] uphill...that barrel ran that woman over, killing her... "And what am I going to do now?" Hrytsko asked himself... "I shall go as far as my legs are willing to take me"... I will go beyond the river Danube to Turkey to join the Zaporozhian Cossacks... And back then, beyond the Danube, lived Zaporozhian Cossacks, who escaped to Turkey after the Sich had been destroyed. The people were escaping there from the landlords (from the serfdom), — and were establishing settlements. Over there among the settlements was a big one called Katyrlez: so, many people were escaping from their landlords...//

Well, Hrystsko came down to the Danube... he found Hladky who was pacing along the shore... Hrytsko asked Hladky: "What are you doing here?"... "I," Hladky said, "got hired by a merchant in Mykolaiv as his assistant...One day the master was off and I took...a thousand roubles...and ran away from Mykolaiv. I did that because my master was unwilling to pay me before letting me go... Now they are searching for me in Mykolaiv and I came here in order to escape to Turkey."

...So, both of them went to Turkey. Back then, there was a crossing at the Danube, which led to Turkey...and the Muscovite guards...were stationed along the shore...and were searching for those wandering off to Turkey...//

And when soldiers spotted the runaways already sailing in the boat across the Danube they were shooting at those people with rifles... That time it happened exactly as it was described.

...Hrytsko and Hladky came to Sich, the place, where Zaporozhians lived. They went to a Chieftain...and greeted him. So, the

Chieftain asked them: "What are you looking for, lads?" They replied saying that they came to request to be accepted to the Zaporozhian Host. So, it came down to saying an oath [as a part of initiation]. They were made to swear an oath by raising their hands and the Chieftain began reading them the text of the oath... Upon submitting an oath they began to live among the Zaporozhian Cossacks. The Chieftain grew to like Hladky for his literacy and kept him close, while Hrytsko were to live with the enlisted Cossacks in their barracks...//

...Well, they were living in there for some time... And their Chieftain was already getting old and was ailing... One day the Chieftain summoned the Zaporozhian Cossacks and told them: "I am old and sick...so, for whom would you vote, Chieftain, if I pass away?" And the Cossacks replied: "We will vote for whom you will tell us and elect that person." "In this case let Hladky be your new Chieftain: he is an experienced man and an educated one; he can supervise you..." So, the old Chieftain passed away and was burried. And Hladky, Joseph, son of Michael, became a Chieftain. And he remained in charge of the Cossack Host until those Cossacks returned to our Tsar's domain.

And that was how they came back— The Turks were waging war on our Tsar. Thus, the Cossacks made an assembly and made up their mind: why should we, Christians, fight against the White Tsar? Let us not help the Turks. When the Muscovites entered the Turkish lands, Zaporozhian Cossacks were helping them to fight against the Turks. And the Russian Tsar went himself to Turkey... Chieftain Hladky...and other Zaporozhians with him sailed in the boat and... took the Tsar across Danube. The Tsar was delighted with the Cossacks. He thanked them. So, they began to request the Tsar...to let them return and live again in Russia...//

...Well, those returning Cossacks got settled around the city of Rostov, but some of them remained in Turkey. So, they have caused the ongoing hostilities...Well, you may record that this story was being told to you by a person who went to and out off Turkey with Hladky.

[Informant]: Cossack Hrytsko Honchar,
village of Veremiivka, Zolotonosha
county of Poltava guberniia

Reference: collected by Porfyrii Martynovych.
Published: Porfyrii Martynovych, *Ukrains'ky zapysy* [Ukrainian records] (Kiev: Typ. Imperatorskago universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1906), pp. 215-220.

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Chieftain Hladky as a mighty knight

Повѣрье о новомъ козацкомъ героѣ Гладкомъ

Тоді, якъ була та война зновъ незнать чого народъ изтруснувся. Було кажуть: "Се, видно, десь такий лицарь уродився, шо // вся земля затрусилась!" Ажъ тоді саме, якъ була ота заверюха, той Гладкий-то народивсь.

Записав Пантелеймон Куліш

(Translation)

A belief about a new Cossack hero Hladky

Back then, when that very war was raging, God knows why many people were shocked. They used to say: "Somewhere, such a knight must have been born that the whole earth has been shaking!" And it was during that calamity that Hladky was born.

Reference: collected by Panteleimon Kulish.
Published: *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Notes about Southern Rus'], vol. 1 (St.- Petersburg: V Tip. Aleksandra Iakobsona, 1856), pp. 165-166.

APPENDIX D: The Cossack land and its treasures

-1-

Cossacks are famous because of their hidden treasures

Кто клалъ клады?

Клады більш клали Запорозьці: як зганяли їх відцілі— то вони думали, шо назад вернуться — та поклали і позаклинали. Вони не як і заклинали, тікі давали обчеству присягу, шо один ніхто не може взять, а через нестільки год, на стіки той клад клався, можно кому сторонему сказать. От, кажуть, ішов запорожець та казав, шо там, де тепер *Нехвороща* построїлась, вони повен колодязь золота самого насипали.

Записано від чоловіка на ім'я Кравець у Селищі Синегубівка Олександрівського повіту Катеринославської губернії

(Translation)

Who burried the treasures?

The *treasures* were mostly hidden by the Zaporozhian Cossacks: when those Cossacks were chased away from these lands — they anticipated their return — so those Cossacks buried the treasures and put spells onto them. Well, they did not exactly put the spells, but rather swore before the Cossack brethren than no one, alone, was to take them, and only in so many years could a sworn Cossack be permitted to reveal the secret about the treasure to a stranger. People are saying that once upon a time, a Cossack was passing through our village saying that where today's *Nekhvoroshcha* is located (probably a village, located near the old Cossack monastery — *R. S.*), those Cossacks had filled a well full with gold.

[Informant]: a man by the name Kravets from the village of Syniehubivka, Oleksandrivsk county, Katerynoslav guberniia

Published: Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), p. 78.

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Zaporozhian Cossacks' treasures, hidden on the island of "Strilchyi"

Стрільча скеля

За Стрільчий острівок давно між людьми балачка є, що там закопані гроші. Запорожці, кажуть, викопали на острівку яму, поклали туда свій скарб: талирі золоті та срібні, // залізо, ружжя и де що инше; тоді взяли й засипали піском; потім взяли хлопця, літ 12, котрого украли на Вкраїні, положили на тім місті, де скарб, і давай его бить лозинням. Вибили добре, тай питають: "а що, знаєш за що бъемо?" —"Не знаю," каже хлопья, а само плаче сердешне. Запорозьці давай упъять бить хлопця. Перестали і упъять питають: а що знаєш за що бъемо? —"Ой, татусенькі, рідненькі, їй Богу не знаю," каже хлопець. Вони его в третє давай пиріщить. Кричало, кричало бідне хлопья, а далі аж охрипло. "Годі, кажуть запорозьці," і давай упъять питать: "скажи, сучий сину, за що бъемо? Як не скажеш, упъять одрепіжемо." —"Знаю," каже хлопья: це б то за те, щоб знав де клад заховали." —"Ну," кажуть запорозьці, "подивися ж кругом, та й іди собі з Богом, може найдуться добрі люди." Вирвалось хлопья та між людьми давай роспитувати шляху на Вкраїну. Чи вже довго йшло, чи не довго, а до батька допиталось. Це було, кажуть, зараз після того, як січ зруйнували. Годів через десятків там стіко, с Киевської губернії гнав по Дніпрі плоти старий дід; став він біля нашої слободи, пішов на стрільчий острівок і давай кладу шукать; шукав, шукав, нічого не знайшов, бо те місто тепер загорнуто каміннями; а дали прийшов у слободу і давай роспитувать: "чи ніхто грошей не відкопував." В слободі ніхто й не знав про гроші. Давай тоді дід росказувать всю сторію, бо він був сами той, котрого запорозьці били. Дід ще розказував і за приміту, де гроші. На тім боці Дніпра, каже, як раз супротів острівка стрільчого, стояв колись старий, старий та товстий дуб; на дубові була гилка товста, котра як раз показувала на острівок саме на те місто, де клад. Де які старі люди ще зазнають того дуба, а міні, признаться, і не взамитку; тепер, оно бачите (указываетъ пальцомъ) як раз на тім місті виросла груша.

Записав Яків Новицький від невідомого чоловіка

(Translation)

The "Strilcha" rock

There has been lots of talking among the people that there is money hidden on the island of "Strilchyi." It is said that the Zaporozhian Cossacks dug a pit on that island and filled it with their treasure: gold and silver thalers // iron [slabs?], weapons and some other items; then had it covered with the sand; then they took a lad of some 12 years of age, whom those Cossacks had kidnapped in Ukraine, put him at that very place, where the treasures were hidden, and began to beat him with the tree branches. They beat him hard and then asked: "Do you know, why we are beating you?" — "No, I do not," was the lad's reply and the poor boy started crying. Zaporozhians gave him another beating. They quit beating him and asked that lad again: do you know why we are beating you? —"No, my most benevolent loving masters, I swear to God that I do not know why," that lad replied. The Cossacks gave him yet another beating. That poor lad was screaming so hard that he lost his voice. "Enough is enough," Zaporozhians said, and asked him again: "Tell us, you son of a bitch, why are we beating you? Tell us or we shall beat you again!" —"I know why you are beating me, that lad finally replied: You are beating me so that I would remember where you hid the treasures." —"All right then," Zaporozhians said, "take a look around, and go with the Lord and maybe you will find some good people [to take care of you]." That lad ran away and began asking for the road to Ukraine among the people. We are not sure how long he was wandering, but he found his way to his father's place. People say that this story happened soon after the Sich had been demolished. Dozens of years later, an old man was taking rafts from the Kyiv guberniia down the river Dnipro; he stopped at our village, went to Strilcha and began looking for the treasures; he was looking and looking and found nothing, because that place was covered with stones; later on he came to the village and began asking: "Has anyone dug up any money?" No one in our village had any knowledge about the money. Afterwards, the old man began telling the entire story, because he was that very lad, whom the Zaporozhians had been beating. Also, that old man told us about the signs, which were to help find that treasure. On the other bank of the Dnipro, he said, directly opposite that island of "Strilchyi," used to grow a very thick and old oaktree; it had a thick branch, which pointed at the very place, where the treasures had been hidden on that island. Some old people still remember where that oaktree used to be, but, frankly speaking, I have no recollection of it; you see (he is pointing at that place with his finger) a peartree grew on that very spot.

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), pp. 229-230.

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The shepherds learn about the treasures of the Mound of Halahan from the brigands

Могила Галаганка

Жили на циї могилі розбойники з ватагом. Як забачать було з могили, що їде чумак шляхом, то винесуть ратище і застомлять над шляхом. Як доїжжа чумак, то вже й зна, що треба класти всего потроху с харчів, які в его є; покладе і їде собі дальше. Які чумаки нічого не клали, то розбійники їх грабили. Це було після того, як цариця стакувала Січ, бо розбойники були з запорозьців.

В Сухачевці, літ десять уже буде як умер старий дід, покійник Прихідько. Було ще за жизні старий дід багато де чого росказує про Галаганку. Було, каже, ему літ дванадцять як пас він вівці біля Галаганки. Раз, каже, стали варить куліш, коли до їх приходе пъять чоловік: два заковані в залізо, а три ні; ті два були, кажуть, розбійники, а три чоловіка гнали їх в Томаківку. Наварили чабани кулішу і дали всім пъятем попоїсти. //

От як поїли розбійники куліш, повставали, помолились Богу, подякували і кажуть чабанам: отут, хлопці, шукайте гроший; тут, кажуть, на всхід сонця, біля могили, закопано грошей дуже багато: один лех з золотом, а другий з ломом. Приміти, кажуть на леху, що з грішми, лежать чотирі каміня, на дверях як раз, зверх землі; на леху, де лом, нема приміти. Погнали розбойників, а чабани й заходились ножами та паліччами копать. Копали, копали й понаходили каміння, та такі великі, шо й з міста не зворухнеш; бачать, що нічого не зроблять, та взяли те каміння, тай загорнули упъять землею і більше вже й не копали.

Як виріс Прихідько, то взяли его в салдати, і там він був тридцять літ. Після служби прийшлось ему чумакувать; віз він раз хуру з губернії в Кічкас; приїхав до Галичанки, пустив волів на пашу, а сам заходивсь шукать приміти, де колись він бачив каміння; шукав, шукав с півдня і не найшов того міста. Старі люди кажуть, що тіх грошей і досі ніхто не забрав, бо вони глибше ввійшли в землю.

(Translation)

The Mound of Halahan

Once upon a time, a band of brigands lived on that burial mound with their Chieftain. Were they to see a wandering traderer from the mound's

top, they would take a lance and erect it near the road. When the trader approached, then he would be smart to leave samples of all of his merchandize (food) and continue his trip. If some traders did not leave anything, then the brigands would rob them. This was happening after Tsarina had attacked Sich and those brigands were from the former Zaporozhian Cossacks.

In the village of Sukhachiovka, some ten years ago, an old man Prykhidko passed away. While he was alive, that old man used to tell us many stories about Halahanka. Once, when he was twelve, Prykhidko was attending a flock of sheep at the pasture near Halahanka. The shepherds began cooking porridge, when five men approached them: two of them were chained and three others were not; those two chained were the brigands and three [soldiers? policemen? vigilantes?] were taking them to Tomakivka. The shepherds finished cooking and treated the entire party of five with porridge. //

When the brigands were fed, they rose and praised the Lord, expressing gratitude to the shepherds and then told them: you lads, start digging here for the money; here, on the eastern edge of the burial mound, much money was hidden: one pit is full of gold, and the other one is full of pieces of disassembled golden jewelry. The telltales are as follows: there are four big rocks above the doors, which cover a pit filled with coins; and there is no sign above the pit with the pieces of broken jewelry.

Those soldiers took the brigands away and the shepherds began digging the earth with the knives and the sticks. They dug and dug until they found the stones so huge that those could hardly be moved; upon failing to move them those shepherds covered those stones with the earth and dug no more.

When Prykhidko came into age he was recruited to the military and spent there some thirty years. After the service he became a wandering trader; once upon a time he was taking a carriage with merchandize from the guberniia to [the German colony of] Kichkas; he came to Halychanka (Halahanka — *R. S.*), let the oxen graze and began looking for the telltale, which would lead him to those stones. He searched for money for a long time, but failed to find it. The old people say that that hidden treasure is still there and nobody claimed it yet because it went deeper into the ground.

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), pp. 228-229.

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Explicative legend about the mighty knights, their duel and population of the lands around Dnipro

Два камня— "Багатирі"

Росказують старі люди, шо колись, дуже в давню старину, зійшлось два багатирі: один став по той (лівий) бік Дніпра, а другий по цей (правий): зійшлись тай кричать // один другому через Дніпро: цей каже: "уступи міні місто, я посилюсь з своім народом," а той каже: "ні, я заселю цей край; геть ти відціля!" Тоді багатирь з правого берега й каже: "коли так, то давай лучче поміряімся силами: хто кого пересиле, того й земля буде." —"Давай, каже багатирь з лівої сторони." Взяли вони, поотколупували з скель каміння одинакової ваги, поставили на горі, по-над Дніпром— той з того боку, а цей з цего, і давай шпурлять. З лівого боку як кинув багатирь камінь, він і впав біля цего берега, в воді, не далеко від Стрільчої скелі; тоді з правого боку багатирь як шпурнув свій камінь, він так і опинився на тім боці, на сухому березі. Тоді багатирь з лівого боку й гука: "Ну, коли так, так я піду дальше, а ти заселяй землю." І пішов багатирь дальше, а цей поселив народ свій і по цім, і по тім боці. На тім камені, шо з лівого боку, і досі зостався слід як раз в тім місці, де багатирь брався руками: так руки й знать, і пальці, і долоні.

(Translation)

Two rocks called the "Mighty knights"

Old people tell that once upon a time, a very long time ago, two mighty knights met [on these banks]: one knight stood on that (left) bank of the river Dnipro, and the other one stood on this (right) bank: so, they came together and shouted // one to another across the river: this one said: "Vacate this place for me and I shall settle my people over here," and the other one responded: "No, I shall settle this land; and you go away!" Then the knight, who was on the right bank said: "In this case let us compete: the mightier of us will own this land." —"Let us do this," the other knight responded from the left bank. They tore two stones of similar weight from the cliffs and placed them on the top [of the cliffs] over the Dnipro— one knight on this side and the other one on that side, and they began to through those stones. The knight from the left bank threw his stone and it fell into the water close to this bank, not far from the cliff of "Strylchia," then the knight from the right bank threw his stone and it hit the dry land on the the opposite bank of the river. Then the knight from the left bank shouted: "Well, in this case I shall go from here and you settle this land with your people." And the challenged knight went farther and his challenger settled his people on both sides of the river. That stone, which is on the left bank, still bears the prints of the knight's grabbing it with his hands: one could see the hand, the fingers and the palm.

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), pp. 230-231.

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A legend about the Mound, called the "Watchtower"

Сторожева могила

Встарину були забіги. В робоче времня, в жнева, стоїть, було козак з віхою на Сторожовій могилі і дивиться кругом, бо з неї видать скрізь, то оце як забаче було, що йде орда, то він віху об землю і тіка в Кайдацьку кріпость. Люде було в степу все поглядають на віху; углядять було, шо віхи нема, та втікають і собі в кріпость. Віху ту далеко було видно, бо й віха висока, й могила висока.

(Translation)

The Mound, called the "Watchtower"

In the times of old these lands were raided [by the Tatars]. During the harvesting season, when time came to reap, a Cossack would stand with a mast on top of a watch mound and look around, because one could see everywhere from the top of this mound. Were he to see that the horde was approaching, the Cossack would lower the mast onto the ground and ride to the Kodak fortress in a hurry. And people in the steppe would also pay attention to the mast; were they not see it then they would run to that fortress as well. That mast could be seen from afar for it was tall and the mound was tall as well.

Reference:	collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published:	Mikhail Dragomanov, *Malorossiiskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy* [Folk legends and stories of Little Rus'] (Kiev: Fritz, 1876), p. 228.

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The Cossack treasures in the shape of a flame-clad horseman; enchanted treasures, hidden in the lands of the former Cossack domain

Клад в виде огненного всадника

В голові острова Хортица, то вид Кічкаса есть величенька могилка, вся обкладена камінням. Літ тридцять тому назад там, темної ночі було часто показуеться клад: еще вискоче на могилу козак з шаблею, та так огнем і засяє. Козак золотий, а під нім кінь срібний. То, кажуть, золоті і срібні гроші. Ті гроші або взято, або показуються та не всякому.

Степан Власенко, 30 років, село Вознесенка, Олександрівський повіт Катеринославської губернії, 15 червня 1884 року

(Translation)

The treasures in the shape of a horseman, engulfed with flame

At the head of the island of Khortytsia, close to [the colony of] Kichkas, there is a big mound, fully covered with stones. Some thirty years ago, treasures used to be revealed, often during starless nights: a Cossack, armed with a saber, rides on the mound and glows as bright as fire. The Cossack is made of gold and his horse is of silver. As the saying goes those, are golden and silver coins. That money is either taken or is revealed to a selected few.

[Informant]: Stephan Vlasenko, age 30, village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on June 15, 1884

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 46.

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A story about the hidden treasures, told by an arrested brigand through his guard

Літ сорок назад дід Підскельний гнав в губернію арештанта в залізах. На Кічкасі сіли спочивать, а арештант і каже: “Эх, якбы моя воля, я б викупився та забогатів бы.” “Де б же ти грошей взяв?” — пита дід. “А он де,” — каже, и показав на Хортецький острів. —“В якому же місці?” “А там, у Висячій Голові.” “Яка ж приміта?” “Э, цього вже не скажу,” — каже, — “бо мені від того легче не буде.” І погнав він того арештанта дальше. Від старих людей я чув, що ті гроші положено в щілині скелі і забито каменними кліннями. Скеля, кажуть, звисла в Дніпро, там десь вище Зміеви печери.

Дід Кузьма Лупай, 73 роки, село Вознесенка, Олександрівський повіт Катеринославської губернії, 19 лютого 1885 року

(Translation)

Some forty years ago an old man Pidskelnyi was taking the arrested brigand in chains to the governor’s office. They sat to rest near [the German colony of] Kichkas and the brigand said: “If I only could I would buy my way out off jail and would become wealthy.” “Where would you get money [for this?]” — his guard asked. “Over there,” — the brigand said and pointed at the island of Khortytsia. —“And where is it exactly?” “Over there, in the Hanging Head.” “And what about telltale?” “I ain’t going to tell you for that will not change my fate.” The guard took the arrested brigand to the governor’s office. I heard from the old people that that treasure had been buried in the crack of the cliff and covered with the stone splinters. Reportedly the cliff is hanging down to the river, somewhere above the “Cave of a Dragon.”

[Informant]: Old man Kuzma Lupai, age 73, village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on February 19, 1885

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky

Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 47.

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An enchanted treasure with an inscription on it

Клад в урочищі Лазні

Низче острова Хортівського, над Старим Дніпром, есть урочище Лазні, там поверх скелі— Клад. Приміта така: лежить камень, а на іому мова “Есть и како, хто візьме, — буде кай.” Годів тридцять тому назад слова були замітні, а тепер камень заріс мохом. Кажуть, клад заклятий.

Рибалка Степан Штепа, 67 років, село Вознесенка, Олександрівського повіту Катеринославської губернії, 28 грудня 1877 року

(Translation)

Treasure in the grove of “Lazni”

Below the island of Khortytsia, over the old flow of the Dnipro, there is a grove called Lazni, and there, above the cliff is a treasure. The telltale is the following: [above the treasure] there lies a stone with an inscription on it: “It is [and will be], — and the one who takes it will be cursed.” Some thirty years ago those words could have still been read, but now the stone is covered with moss. People say that this treasure is enchanted.

[Informant]: Fisherman Stephan Shtepa, age 67, village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on December 28, 1877

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 47.

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An enchanted treasure, hidden by the Cossacks

Клад в Музичиній балці

На тім же острові Чорної скелі, есть Музичина балка, а в балці криниця, в тій криниці запорожці сховали мідний чавунець с червонцями. Там ті гроші й досі, бо страшно брать— закляті.

Рибалка Степан Штепа, 67 років,
село Вознесенка, Олександрівського
повіту Катеринославської губернії,
28 грудня 1877 року

(Translation)

A treasure, hidden in the grove of the Cossack Muzyka

On that very island of Chorna skelia (the Black Cliff— *R. S.*) there is a grove of the [Cossack] Muzyka, and in that grove there is a well, and in that well Zaporozhian Cossacks hid a cooper bowl of golden coins. That money is still hidden there, because no one is brave enough to claim this money— it is enchanted.

[Informant]: Fisherman Stephan Shtepa,
age 67, village of Voznesenka,
Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav
guberniia, recorded on December 28,
1877

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 47.

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A treasure, hidden by the Cossacks in the ravine

Клад в балці

Низче скелі Вошивоі, де німецький вітряк, есть Вербова балочка, вона на гору вийшла вилками, а посередені шпилик, на цьому шпиліку, кажуть, закопане запорозьке добро: золото, срібло, лом всякий, рушниці і пушки. Тут, кажуть, запорожці сховали скарб тоді, як москаль такував Січ.

Рибалка Степан Штепа, 67 років,
село Вознесенка, Олександрівського
повіту Катеринославської губернії,
28 грудня 1877 року

(Translation)

The treasures, hidden in the ravine

Below the Vshyva (Lice-infested — *R. S.*) cliff, where the German windmill is now standing, there is the Verbova (Pussy-willow — *R. S.*) ravine, which grows also on that cliff and there is an apex on that cliff, and in the middle of that apex, people are saying, Zaporozhian Cossacks hid their treasures: gold, silver, jewelry, cut in pieces, guns and cannons. People are also saying that the Cossacks hid their treasures over there when the Russians were attacking the Zaporozhian Sich.

[Informant]: Fisherman Stephan Shtepa,
age 67, village of Voznesenka,
Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav
guberniia, recorded on December 28,
1877

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 48.

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The hidden Cossack treasures, guarded by an incarcerated Cossack treasurer

Клад біля Шанцевої балки

На острові Хортицькім, супротів Дубового островка, шо під Вознесенським берегом, есть два вибалочка; між ними запорожці сховали полкову козну— дванадцять бочонків, в льоху і казначей козацький сидить замурований.

Рибалка Степан Штепа, 67 років, село Вознесенка, Олександрівського повіту Катеринославської губернії, 28 грудня 1877 року

(Translation)

The treasures near the ravine of Shantseva

On the island of Khortytsia, straight across the island of Dubovyi (Oak), which is near the bank of Voznesenka [village], there are two small ravines; between those ravines the Zaporozhian Cossacks hid the regimental treasures of their Host— twelve barrels with treasures. In that hole also sits the immured Cossack treasurer, who is guarding those treasures.

[Informant]: Fisherman Stephan Shtepa, age 67, village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on December 28, 1877

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 48.

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A remarkable tree and the Cossack treasures, hidden beneath

Клад біля Красного дуба

На Хортиці, біля Шанцевої балки, стоїть Красний дуб, він високий і гільчастий; старішого й товстішого від його нема. Це, кажуть, що запорізький дуб, бо хто з старих дідів його зна, він все однаковий; листя на ему зимою червоне і до весни не спада. Біля цього дуба, кажуть, есть запорозький клад.

Дід Грицько Шуть, 75 років, село Вознесенка, Олександрівського повіту Катеринославської губернії, 7 сепня 1874 року

(Translation)

The treasure, hidden under the Red Oak

On the island of Khortytsia, near the ravine of Shantseva, there is a Red Oak, which is tall and has many branches; it is by far the oldest and the thickest oak tree around. It is also known as the "Zaporozhian oak," because those old men who have known this oak tree well say that it never changes: its leaves remain red during the winter and do not fall till spring. People are saying that there are Zaporozhian Cossacks' treasures hidden beneath this oak tree.

[Informant]: Old man Hryhorii Shut', age 75, village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on August 7, 1874

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 48.

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The evil spirit guards the hidden Cossack treasures by scaring people away

Заклятий клад в балці Брагарні

В балці Брагарні есть заклятий клад, і його стерегла нечиста сила; заклятий був гайдамаками на сто год, тіко времня уже вийшло. Старі люди розказували— балка була дуже лісная. Восени, було, вознесенці ходять за грушами и кислицями, тіко вертаються с порожніми мішками або і без мішків. Оце, було, тіко понастилають під деревом рядна і стануть трусить, то нечиста сила як підніме голос, як закричить не своїм голосом, як затуже, як зарегочеться...люди та так і розбігаються. Інші кидали мигівки і рядна та тікали. Добіжать до каюків, стануть спихать, то нечиста сила і не пуска. Покійна мати розсказувала, що одна жінка і умерла с переляку. Ночної доби було як почне вигукувать: го-го-го! або тало-ла-ла! гопо-по-по! — луна так і розлягається по Дніпру... Страшно було. Цьому, як не збрехать, минуло років шістьдесят або і більше: ще я ходив без штанів. Клад, кажуть, лежит нерушимо, бо брать его страшно.

Хома Хупавка, 72 роки, село Вознесенка, Олександрівського повіту Катеринославської губернії, 19 лютого 1885

(Translation)

The enchanted treasures of Braharnia ravine

There is an enchanted treasure in the Braharnia ravine, which was guarded by an evil spirit; the brigands put a spell on this treasure which was to last one hundred years, and that time has passed already. Old people used to tell— that ravine was covered with a dense forest. In the autumn the dwellers of the village of Voznesenka used to go there to pick pears and wild apples, but often returned with empty bags or even without them. No sooner they stretched clothings under the trees and began to shake those trees; the evil spirit would start uproar, shout in inhuman voice and laugh…so people would scatter. Some of them left their baskets and clothes behind. As soon as they made it to their boats and start pushing them to the water, the evil would not let them sail away. Late mother used to tell me that one woman died because she was so frightened. During the night time the evil spirit would

start shouting: ho!-ho!-ho! Or talo-la-la! Ho-po-po! — an echo used to spread all over the Dnipro… That was frightening. Sixty years have passed since [that day], or maybe more: at that time I was still running around without my pants. People say that this treasure is still lying there undisturbed, because it is scary to take.

[Informant]: Khoma Khupavka, age 72, the village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on February 19, 1885

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 48.

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The hidden treasures, which belonged to the Cossacks and fighters-kharakternyky

Клад в майдані Савутиної балки

На Хортицьким острові, біля Савутіної балки, есть високий майдан: там гайдамаки сховали клад. Давно, бог его зна і коли, моєму деже, // під Уманью на четверо коней грошей і всякого добра і стали тікать; коли ось і погоня за ними біжить. З ними був дід колдовник. Шо ще стануть ляхи добігать, дід махне хусткою— і перед ними зробиться річка. Ідуть вони та й їдуть, коли опять погоня. Дід вдруге махне хусткою і стане ліс, шо й голови не просунути. Ляхи наткнуться— тай назад. Доїхали ті гайдамаки до Дніпра— і перевезлись на Хортицю. Чи довго вони жили тут, чи ні— сховали в майдані гроші і затоптали кіньми. Після зруйнування Січи запорожці подалися під турка, а за ними посунули і гайдамаки. Стіко, кажуть, не жило їх там, а під старість умирать сюда вертались; так вернувся і той запорожець, що оце я вам розсказую. Гайдамацьких грошей, кажуть, страшно брать: вони нечисті.

Дід Кузьма Лупай, 73 роки, село Вознесенка, Олександрівський повіт Катеринославської губернії, 19 лютого 1885 року

(Translation)

The treasures in the ravine of [the Cossack] Savuta

On the island of Khortytsia, near the ravine of Savuta, there is a high clearing: *haidamaky* hid their treasures in there. Long ago, God knows when, [?] // they took booty near the town of Uman and put money and other valuables on four horses and began to flee; and a pursuit party was closing in on them. And among those brigands was an old man— a sorcerer. As soon as the Poles were closing in, the old man waved his kerchief— and a river appeared before the Poles. The brigands were riding and riding, again the pursuiers drew nearer. The old man waved his kerchief again and the dense forest emerged, so dense that one could not stick their head between the trees. The Poles encountered it— and fell back. The *Haidamaky* rode towards the river Dnipro— and crossed over to the island of Khortytsia. There is no telling how long they were living there — but they hid money in the clearing and rode horses over to that site. After the demolition of the Sich, the Zaporozhians went under Turkish protection, and the *haidamaky* followed them. They returned in their old age to die in their native land; and that Zaporozhian Cossack, about whom I have been telling you, returned as well. People do not dare take the *haidamaky*'s money: it is unclean.

[Informant]: Old man Kuzma Lupai, age 73, village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on February 19, 1885

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 47.

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The hidden treasures and an evil spirit-the guardian

Клади й нечиста сила

На Хортицькім острові багато кладів, тільки всі вони закляті. Діди було розсказують, шо через ті клади заклята і вся земля на острові. Колись, кажуть, грамотний чоловік взяв Євангелію і в ночі хотів перейти острів. Тікі й він зійшов на гору, — Євангелія і випала з рук; він підняв— вона опять випала... Став творить молитву, а козеня з-під куща "меке-ке-ке-е-е!"— та дідові на шию і сіла верхом... Далі козеня зскочило, а з заду его хтось лозиною як шмарне, як шморгне, — та по ухах, та по ухах. Гнало і шмогало, насилу дід влучив до каюка... Стрибнув той дід в каюк і помахав веслом до дому. На другий день пішов він шукать Євангелію, аж вона пошматана на кусочки.

Дід Василь Нагирній, 95 років, місто
Олександрівськ Катеринославської
губернії, 1 грудня 1884 року

(Translation)

The hidden treasures and the evil spirit

There are many treasures on the island of Khortytsia, but all of them are enchanted. The old men used to tell that because of those [hidden] treasures all of the land on that island is under the spell as well. Once upon a time a literate man took a Holy Gospel and attempted to cross the island during the night. As soon as he climbed the hill, — the Holy Gospel fell out from his hands, he picked it up — but it fell down again… He began to pray, and a goat broke silence from under the bush "me-ke-ke-ee!" — and jumped on that old man's neck and sat on it…Then the goat jumped off, and somebody from behind hit that old man with a branc— across the ears and again, and again. "It" was chasing that man again and again until he made it to his boat… That old man jumped into his boat and rowed towards home. Next day he went back looking for the Holy Gospel, but it was torn to pieces.

[Informant]: Old man Vasyl Nahyrnii, age 95,
the city of Oleksandrivsk, Katerynoslav
guberniia, recorded on December 1, 1884

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 49.

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Incarcerated Cossacks as the guardians of the Cossack treasures

Клад, що його передав запорожець чоловіку

Багато кладів сховано по скелях та балках, під дубами, а найбільш у Висчій голові та по могилах; будуть вони лежать, поки світ сонця. Стережуть їх, кажуть, запорожці, замуровані в льохах, і виходять на світ божий в сорок год раз. Але вийде тай заклика встрічнього чоловіка в льохах, як той піде, — він зачине за ним залізні двері и був такий... Давно, дуже давно діялось— з могили вийшов запорожець з шаблею і став ходить по острові. Довго ходив і побачив чоловіка. Він до його, а той злякався та від // його. Запорожець догнав і каже: не бійся, чоловік ти бачу убогий, а я можу запомогти грішми: ходім до могили, я там живу. Чоловікові і страшно, і охота достать грошей. Не довго думавши пішов. Той открив льох і каже: бачиш барило з червонцями— бери стілько тобі треба. Чоловік за гроші, а запорожець за двері— грякнув і загорнув ход землею. Зробив своє діло і пішов ходить по світу. Таких людей, кажуть, і смерть не бере.

Дід Бугайда, 78 років, село
Вознесенка, Олександрівський повіт
Катеринославської губернії, 7
вересня 1878 року

(Translation)

The hidden treasures, given by a Zaporozhian

There are many treasures hidden in the cliffs, ravines, under the oak-trees, and the most of them on the "Hanging Head" and in the burial mounds; and those treasures will be lying there as long as the sun shines. People say that those treasures are being guarded by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, immured in the pits, who are allowed to get out only once in forty years. And when such a guardian meets a passer-by, then he will invite the latter to the pit, and if a passer-by follows, — then the Zaporozhian Cossack will lock the iron gates behind the passer-by and that will be it… A long time ago it happened— a Zaporozhian Cossack, armed with saber, left his crypt and began wandering throughout the island. He was wandering for a long time and met a man. That man got scared // and was trying to escape the approaching Zaporozhian. The Cossack caught up with that man and said: Do

not worry, o man, I see that you are poor, and I can help you with money: follow me to the burial mound. That man was frightened, but he was also tempted to receive money. Finally, he went without any lengthy thoughts. The Zaporozhian opened the pit and said: do you see that barrel with the golden coins— go and grab as much as you need. That man went for the money and the Cossack closed the doors, and covered the entrance with earth. So he did and went on wandering the earth. People are saying that people like that Cossack never succumb to death.

[Informant]: Old man Buhaida, age 78, the village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on September 7, 1878

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), pp. 49-50.

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Incarcerated Cossacks as the guardians of the Cossack treasures

Запорізький клад

Год тридцять тому назад зійшовся я з стареньким чоловіком і розбалакався про клади. Чув, каже він, людям случались гроші, та не всякий брав їх, — і почав розсказувати. Раз, каже, в Спасівку, один дід рибальчив в Дніпрі. Ніч була дуже місячною. Повернув він каюк до островського берега, вибрав сітки і став дрімать. Коли чує— шось шелестить чагарем, а далі виходить чоловік, голова лиса, вуси довгі і одежа на йому козацька. Став і дивиться на діда. Зляку у діда мороз пішов поза шкурою. Не втерпів він і обізвався: шо ти за чоловік і чого тобі треба? —Я, каже, запорожець, сто год стеріг клад, а тепер времья вийшло, іди і забери. Дід і отказує: як же ти мене знаєш, коли я тебе вперве бачу. У нас, каже, була така умова с козаками, шо через сто год кого першого побачу, тому суд і гроші: ходим з мною. Знаєш шо, чоловіче, — відмовив йому дід, — іди собі з богом, відкіля взявся, — грошей твоїх мені не треба. Повернувся козак і пішов собі на гору. Діда взяв ще більший острах, перехрестився тричі і повернув каюка на вознесенський берег. Через тиждень дід почув, що на Старому Дніпрі рибальчив чоловік з Розумовки і тієї ночі його не стало. Він, кажуть, був падкий до грошей, послухав запорожця і буде сидіти в льоху до служного часу.

Рибалка Степан Штепа, 67 років, село
Вознесенка, Олександрівського повіту
Катеринославської губернії, 22 грудня
1877 року

(Translation)

The Zaporozhian treasure

Some thirty years ago, I met an elderly man and had a chat about the hidden treasures with him. According to him, some people found this money, but not everybody dared to take it, and he went on telling the story. On the Holy Day of Transfiguration, an old man was fishing on the river Dnipro. The night was lit with moonlight. He rowed towards the bank [of Khortytsia], drew the nets from the water, and began napping. Suddenly, he heard a rustling in the reeds, and soon afterwards a man came out of those

reeds, his head shaved, with long moustache and dressed in Cossack-style clothes. That stranger began looking at the old man. And that old man felt a shiver pass down his neck. The old fisherman lost his patience and asked: What sort of man are you and what do you want from me? —I am a Zaporozhian Cossack and I have been guarding the treasures for a hundred years and now the time of my duty is done and you may go and take that treasure. The old man replied: and how do you know me, because I have never met you before in my life. The Cossack said that we, the Cossacks, had reached an agreement that in a hundred years, I would pass the money to the first person, whom I would meet: follow me. You know what, man, — the old man replied, — go to where you have come from, and may the Lord guide you, — I don't need your money. The Cossack turned around and went up the hill. The old man experienced an even a more dreadful fright; he adorned himself with the sign of the Holy Cross thrice, and rowed towards the bank near the village of Voznesenka. And in a week, that old man heard a rumor that a man from Rozumovka had been fishing on the Old Dnipro and vanished that very night [when the old fisherman met with the Cossack]. That man from Rozumovka, who had vanished, had been known for his love of money, so he must have listened to that Zaporozhian Cossack and now will be sitting in that crypt till his term is over.

[Informant]: Fisherman Stephan Shtepa, age 67, village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on December 22, 1877

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 50.

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The Cossack customs of hiding the treasures; incarcerated Cossacks as the guardians of the hidden treasures

Клади ховали запорожці, ляхи і турки; тут находили гроші всяких царів. У запорожців був такий звичай. Аще викопают льох, сховають гроші і питають: а хто ж їх буде стерегти? Як тіко який охочий обізвався— упхнут його в льох і замурують. І сидить козак 40 літ не пивші, не ївші, поки строк не вийде. Добре ж, як пойде кому передать гроші, а як ні, то оп'ять іде в льох на 40 год. Колись було страшно і ночувать на Хортиці: приходе запорожець і будить: "ходім до мене, візьмешь гроші, вони судились тобі." Хто послуха— піде і останеться замурованним 40 літ, а запорожець іде собі по миру... Тіко мало було // охотників до таких грошей. Ховали гроші і запорожці— сидні без закляття; цих брать не страшно, і хто находив— робився хазаіном і богатів... В Вознесенці були люди, шо гляди, ні з сього, ні з того розбагатів... Найбільше находили гроші в урочищі Сагайдачнім і на Хортиці, тіко попадались між нашими талярами турецькі і лядські, їх збували шинкарам. На своєму віку я найшов п'яні золоті, та нікому і не сказав.

Дід Яків Руденький, 69 років, село
Вознесенка, Олександрівський повіт
Катеринославської губернії, 8 серпня
1881 року

(Translation)

Zaporozhian customs of hiding treasures

The treasures were hidden by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Poles and Turks; here people found the money of various rulers. The Zaporozhians had the following custom. When they dug a pit and hid money in there, they would ask: and who will be guarding it? As soon as a volunteer came up— other Cossacks would throw him in the pit and cover the entrance. And that Cossack would spend 40 years without food or drink until his term was over. It would be great if he found somebody to pass his duty on to, and if not, then he would go back for another forty years in that crypt. There was a time when it was frightening to spend a night on the island of Khortytsia: a Zaporozhian Cossack used to come to people and wake them up saying: "Follow me and I shall give you money. This money is destined for you." Those who accepted [that offer] would go— and stay immured for forty years and the Zaporozhian would wander the land... However, there were few // people, who were eager for money. Some money was hidden by the Zaporozhians without any spells, so it was not frightening to take it; those people who found that mone— became rich landowners... In the village of Voznesenka, there were people, who became rich rather unexpectedly... Most of the money was found in the Sahaidachnyi ravine and on the island of Khortytsia, but among our thalers were the coins from Poland and Turkey, and people were getting rid of those at the pubs. Long ago, I found such coins, but told nobody about them.

[Informant]: Old man Iakiv Rudenky, age 69, village of Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of Katerynoslav guberniia, recorded on August 8, 1881

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), pp. 50-51.

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Luck in finding a hidden treasure; the devil as a goat, which turns into silver

Щастя, як трясця, кого схоче нападе

Раз ішов я слободою мимо діда Летючого, а він сидів на призьбі. Поздоровкався і минаю. "Не минай, — каже, — іди побалакаємо: тютюн є?" Є, кажу. Попокладали люльки, викресали і розбалакалися про те та про се, а далі звернули про старовину. "Еге, було колись, та не вернется, — каже дід: де тепер слобода— був дикий степ, жили запорожці без жінок, без дітей, як ченці, не знали де гроші діват— ховали в землю." "Не всякому, каже, щастя найти їх! Щастя як трясця— кого схоче, того і нападе"— отказав дід. —"Ти знаєш Ляшенка?" "Якого?" — питаю, — Афанасія?" "Ні, ще його батька." "О, це кажу, давня річ: коли син старий, то за батька і казать нічого..." "А я тобі скажу, як він розбагатів. Із Січи прийшов голий, а став купцем на весь Олександрівськ... Раз, значить, зібрався він по рибу на Старе Дніпро і спізнився. Смерком перекинувся каюком на Хортицю і пішов степом. Йде той, іде стежком, коли дивиться біліє піньок і мов ворушиться. Порівнявся з ним і сказав: де він у біса взявся? Тіко шо вимовив, а козеня плиг йому на плеч— і сіло... Далі як придаве ніжками, як придаве хвостом в спину... Ляшенко став мов не свій, мов конем — так зразу як побіжить. Став перебігать шлях, шо йшов впродовж острова, а козеня його за вуха, мов за уздечку, смик,— і повернуло шляхом. Біг він верст вісім, до Вищой голови, де стояв старий дуб. Добіг, а на Кічкасі заспівали треті півні. Козеня брящнуло грішми і розсипалось. Ляшенко давай збирати... Набрав повну торбу, шо брав на рибу, і сховав в кущі. Страшно йому стало, а найбільше боявся, щоб ніхто не відняв. Пересідив він до вечера, перевіз його рибалка в Сагайдачнім, і поніс гроші до дому. С того часу кинув рибу ловить, став торгувати сіллю, дальше открил лавку, постоялий двіт і пішов жить... Перед смертію передав багатство синові, той тепер грішми руки грів... От тобі і щастя як трясця — сказав дід — кого схоче, того і нападе."

Дід Василь Панасенко-Гончаренко,
70 років, с. Вознесенка,
Олександрівський повіт
Катеринославської губернії, [?]
серпня 1879 року

(Translation)

Luck as fever can strike anybody

One day I was walking through the village and passing near the old man Letiuchyi, who was sitting on the porch of his house. I greeted him and was passing by. "Do not pass by me, — he said, — come and chat with me: do you have any tobacco with you?" Yes, I have some. So, we filled the pipes, extracted fire and chated about this and that and later on reverted to occurances of the past. "Yeh, that was the life, which shall be no more, — the old man noted: where there is now a village — there used to be a wild steppe, where Zaporozhian Cossacks were living without wives and children, like [those] monks, and did not know what to do with money— burried it in the ground." "Nobody is so lucky to find it! Luck is as fever and can strike anybody" — the old man sentenced —"Do you know a man called Liashenko by the way?" "What Liashenko?" —I asked him, — Afanasii?" "No, his father." "Well, how could I possibly know him: when the son is that old, then what is to be said of his father?" "And I am going to tell you how [that father of Afanasii] Liashenko got his riches. He came broke from the Sich, but later on, became the most notable merchant in the town of Oleksandrivsk… One day, he went fishing to the Old Dnipro and was late. When darkness fell, he crossed the river to the island of Khortytsia by boat and kept walking through the steppe. He was going and going along that path when suddenly he spotted something, which resembled a white tree trunk, which was moving. He came closer and said: "Where, the devil did this come from?" As soon as he spoke, a little goat jumped up on him… Then it pressed on old Liashenko's back with its legs and his back with its tail… Liashenko was at a loss, like turning into a steed— he started off running. He began crossing the road, which stretched across the island, but the goat grabbed his ears as if they were a harness, pulled and directed him along that road. Liashenko ran for some eight kilometers up to the "Hanging Head," where an old oak-tree used to be. When he reached that spot, the roosters in the Kichkas crowed the third time, and that goat clinked and turned into money. Liashenko began to pick it up… He packed a full sack, which he had taken to catch fish, and hid it in the bushes. He was scared, but mostly he was afraid that someone might steal it. He spent the entire day in the bushes, and in the evening a fisherman ferried him at the Sahaidachnyi ravine, and Liashenko took the money home. Since then, he quit fishing and began to trade in salt, then opened a shop and a hostel, and so he lived on… Before his departure, he passed his treasure to his son for his use… So, — the old man said, — luck is as fever indeed — it can strike anybody."

[Informant]: Old man Vasyl Panasenko-Honcharenko, age 70, village of

Voznesenka, Oleksandrivsk county of
Katerynoslav guberniia, [?] August of
1879

Reference: collected by Iakiv Novytsky
Published: Iakiv Novytsky, *Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre, ego priroda, istoriia, drevnosti* [The island of Khortytsia on Dnipro] (Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U, 1997), p. 51.

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An account about the "old" Cossack encampment of Sich and its demolition by the Russian troops in 1709 (fragment)

Запорожскія городища

...Житель Никополя, живший около 30 лѣтъ при уничтоженіи послѣднего Коша Запорожскаго въ 1775 году, Михаилъ Решѣтнякъ...казакъ любилъ часто разсказывать о подвигахъ казаковъ противъ татаръ и Поляковъ. Когда я навѣстилъ его больного въ годъ его смѣрти (1839) я... завелъ съ нимъ рѣчь на любимую имъ тему // о Запорожьѣ... Потомъ я спросилъ его: помнитъ ли онъ Старую Сечь на островѣ за Чертомлыкомъ? "Ні, не знаю, а чув...от Білицького [кошовий], що того острова не було, а Запорожці зробили рів і пропустили воду з Чортомлика, щоб недаться в руки москалям. Був тоді наказний отаман Богуш Яким, гарний козак, на місто кошового Кості Гордієнка, що з Мазепою змінив Руському цареві; він [Богуш] откопався от берега, зробив на шпилі [мис] кріпость, поставив гармати і велів перевезти туди увесь козацький скарб, а каюки [човни] всі завів за шпиль на річку Павлюк. Москалі прийшли з гетьманцями, довго билися з запорожцями, поки не подужали; тоді Богуш забрав скарб і деякі пушки і зоставшихся козаків на каюк, тай утік Павлюком на Туреччину."

Записав протоієрей І. Карелін від колишнього запорожця Михайла Решетняка у м. Нікополь Катеринославського повіту, 1839 рік

(Translation)

The strongholds of Zaporozhian Cossacks

...A dweller of Nikopol, who was around thirty at the time of liquidation of the last Host of Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1775, by the name Mykhailo Reshetniak...himself a Cossack...enjoyed telling the stories about the heroic deeds of the Cossacks in their encounters with the Tatars and the Poles. When I paid him a visit in the year when he, already a sick man in the year of his death [died (1839)]... I talked to him about his favorite topic // the one about Zaporozhian Cossack Host... Then I inquired whether or not he remembered the "Old" Sich on the island beyond Chertomlyk? "No, that was

before me, but I heard about it...from [the Cossack Chieftain] Bilytskyi that there would have been no such island whatsoever, but the Zaporozhians dug a moat and flooded it with water from the river of Chortomlyk, in order to escape the Russians' grip. At that time, there was an acting Chieftain, Iakym Bohush, a distinguished Cossack who was elected instead of Chieftain Kost Hordienko, who together with Mazepa betrayed the Russian Tsar; Bohush had ordered to dig the moat, separating himself from the shore, built a fortress on the top of the cliff, armed it with the cannons and ordered to take all of the Cossack treasures over there, and hid the boats behind the cliff in the river of Pavliuk. The Russians came together with the Cossacks of Hetmanate and were fighting Zaporozhians for a long time until they overcame them; foreseeing a defeat Bohush took the treasures, some cannons and the remaining Cossacks and sailed Pavliuk towards Turkish realm."

[Informant]: the former Cossack Mykhailo Reshetniak, age ca 95, town of Nikopol, Katerynoslav county, 1839

Reference: collected by priest I. Karelin
Published: "Zaporozhskiia gorodishcha" [Fortresses of the Zaporozhian Cossacks], *Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, IX, (Odessa: Aleksomati, 1875): 433-442 (on pages 440-441).

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Fighters of the forest of Chuta and their encampment (fragment)

Чута лѣсъ

По сообщенію свящ. Г. И. Сорокина, на сѣверной оконечности Вольной Чуты...на возвышенныхъ мѣстахъ есть два городка, большой и малый, окруженные окопами... По нашей просьбе А. К. Польницкий доставилъ намъ описаніе и планъ этихъ городовъ...по словамъ мѣстныхъ житѣлей, въ этомъ городкѣ, сооруженномъ гайдамаками въ глубокую старину, гайдамаки “пристановище” имѣли и “награбованое добро хоронили”; разсказываютъ, что внутри этого городка есть погребъ, в которомъ скрыты деньги, багатая одежда и проч., и что кладъ этотъ охраняетъ гайдамакъ въ полномъ вооруженіи.

(Translation)

The forest of Chuta

According to the report of the priest G. E. Sorokin, on the northern end of the forest of Volnaia Chuta…on the elevations there are two fortresses, a big one and a small one, surrounded by trenches… Upon our request A. K. Polnytsky sent us a detailed description and a blueprint of those fortresses…according to the local residents in one of those fortresses, which had been built by the *haidamaky* in the days of old, the *haidamaky* had a safe haven and preserved their booty; people also say that inside that fortress there is a crypt, in which the money is hidden as well as rich garments and the like, and that this treasure is being guarded by a fighter in full armor.

Reference: collected by Vladimir Iastrebov
Published: V. Iastrebov, “Opyt topograficheskogo obozreniia Khersonskoi gubernii” [Topographical description of Kherson guberniia], *Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostiei*, XVII (Odessa: Ekonomicheskaia tipografiia, 1894): 63-176 (on page 106).